A STUDY OF SIR THOMAS WYATT'S POEMS

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BY
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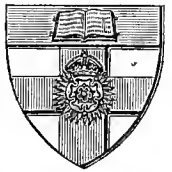
BEING PART I OF A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, JUNE 1910



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TO

T. GREGORY FOSTER

"Da che concetto ha l'arte intera e diva
La forma e gli atti d'alcuń, poi di quello
D'umil materia un semplice modello
È 'l primo parto che da quel deriva."

MICHAEL ANGELO.

PREFATORY NOTICE

THIS book is merely an introduction to an edition of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems, with Life and Notes. It aims primarily at setting forth the importance of the E MS. above all the other MSS. for the following reasons—

1. A constant system of a versification peculiar to the Wyatt MS.
2. A well-marked order of poems, and development of style.
3. Corrections and alterations in Wyatt's hand apart from corrections *that are spurious*.

The Poems, with the Life and Notes, are in MS., and should form the second part to the book. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. T. Gregory Foster, for help throughout, and particularly for his loan of the first forty poems transcribed from the E MS.; to Professor W. P. Ker, for his interest and sympathy, and to the Officials of the MS. Department, British Museum, for their courteous aid in palæographical difficulties.

A. K. F.

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A STUDY OF SIR THOMAS WYATT'S POEMS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

TOTTEL'S *Miscellany* was published in 1557. It contained poems by the Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Grimoald, and "Uncertayn Authors." Wyatt had been dead fifteen years; the only previous publication of any part of his poems was the Penitential Psalms, issued by John Harrington, the father of the translator of the *Orlando Furioso*. The *Miscellany* went through six editions, with Tottel as editor; a seventh edition was published by T. Windet in 1585, and an eighth edition by R. Robinson in 1587.

The first edition marks the inauguration of the modern English anthology. It contains careful and regular verse, and bears witness that there were many authors who could write a decasyllabic line with ease, but none whose lips had touched the glowing coal of genius. It was, in fact, the period of stillness before the dawn, the time of inactivity which always has preceded a great epoch in literature. Thirty years later Robinson's edition was published in a time of intense literary activity. Shakespeare had come to London (1586); Marlowe had written his *Tamburlaine*, in which his "mighty line" took the place of "jigging rhyme"; a crowd of University men—Nash, Greene, and Peele among them—had taken to writing as a profession; Sidney, courtly poet and literary critic, was just dead; Spenser was writing the *Faery Queene*.

Two years later, Puttenham, reviewing the field of literature in his *Arte of English Poesie*, paid his great tribute of praise to the two chieftains of the courtly makers—the Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt.

"They did," he says, "greately polish our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie from that it had been before, and for this cause may justly be sayd the first reformers of our English metre and style;" and again, he terms them "the two chief lanternes of light to all others that have since employed their pennes upon English Poesie . . . their conceits were lofty, their style stately, their conveyance cleanely, their termes proper, their metre sweete and well proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their master, Francis Petrarcha."

Puttenham, in this encomium, set the fashion for including Surrey and Wyatt in the self-same criticism. Surrey, too, was placed first, an honour doubtless due to his rank, but succeeding generations took it as a sign of his literary superiority. G. F. Nott,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century, writes of Wyatt and Surrey as if they had been companions, who composed their pieces side by side and criticized one another's work. The *Edinburgh Review*, December 1816, however, while according some degree of merit to the Surrey volume, dismisses the Wyatt volume in these words: "Sir Thomas Wyatt was a man of wit, a shrewd observer and a subtle politician, but in no true sense of the word was he a poet, and since our object is to criticize poetry we shall now take our leave of him at once. Having caused some reputation in the volume devoted to Surrey, Mr. Nott bids fair to lose it again by his unwarrantable zeal for proportion in the Wyatt volume." Time has had its revenge; Wyatt and others who were laid under the lash of the caustic remarks of the *Edinburgh* reviewers, are now recognized in their true worth; a late criticism, which has

[1] *Works of Howard and Wyatt.* By G. F. Nott. 2 vols. 1816.

exploded the false theories of Surrey's love for Geraldine, has thrown light upon the position of the two poets and has unhesitatingly declared Wyatt to be the pioneer. Wyatt was Surrey's senior by fifteen years; he had written the bulk of his poems by 1536, while all the evidence goes to prove that Surrey did not begin to write until 1536.

The *Miscellany* was reprinted in the eighteenth century, and towards the end of the century, Warton, in his *History of Literature*, wrote a just criticism of Wyatt. He describes him as a genius of a moral and didactic order, capable of composing an occasional lyric with some degree of sweetness, but wanting in harmony of numbers and facility of phraseology.

In 1807, the projected two-volume edition of Bishop Percy and George Stevens was burnt in the great fire which swept away the printing establishment of Nichols. Four copies, previously sent out for final revision, escaped; and one, belonging to Thomas Park, is now in the British Museum. It is of some importance because it contains Wyatt's Psalms. The original edition of John Harrington was evidently used in the compilation, for the facsimile title page of the 1549 edition is reprinted in this copy.

Five years later, 1812, Dr. John Nott's edition of Wyatt suffered the same fate through a printer's fire.

In 1816, G. F. Nott, the nephew of Dr. John Nott, published his massive two-volume edition of Howard and Wyatt. He used the material gathered together by his uncle, and he seems to have obtained information from other writers, and borrowed without giving the authors due credit, for Mr. Padelford, in his paper on the *Relations of the 1812 and the 1815–16 editions*,[1] describes this edition as "the most surprising of literary borrowings"; notes in the 1816 edition are identical, or almost identical with notes made in Sewell and Park's editions of the *Miscellany* in the British Museum.

[1] *Anglia*, vol. xxix, part ii.

Now, the chief interest in the 1816 edition lay in the fact that it had been prepared from the MSS.; and G. F. Nott, in his introduction, gave as his aim *the faithful reproduction of the MSS.*, for he had made the discovery that *Tottel differed from the MSS.* Recent investigation, however, has proved that Nott's text can by no means claim to be a faithful reproduction throughout; but he collected a vast amount of information, and he has since been the chief source of all later editions. The Aldine edition appeared in 1830, Bell's edition in 1854, Gilfillan's edition (Edinburgh) in 1858, and at the end of the century, Arber's reprint of the *Miscellany* and the *Wyatt and Surrey Anthology*, were published.

Meanwhile the MSS. had come into the possession of the British Museum. In 1848 the Devonshire MS. was acquired; in 1889, the Egerton; and in 1900 a further addition to Wyatt and Surrey's poems was made in the acquisition of the P MS. It was at length possible to go to the sources; in 1895–7 Prof. Flügel made an exact transcript of the Egerton MS. in his contributions to the *Anglia*, vols. xviii–xix. In 1906 Mr. Padelford, who had already contributed Surrey's MS. poems to the *Anglia*, vol. xxiii, published the *Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, in the Belles Lettres Series, including thirty of Wyatt's poems from the MS., and for the first time exact transcripts of Wyatt appeared in an anthology.

The relative values of the various MSS. and of Tottel's edition still remain undecided, although certain opinions have been advanced. Prof. Flügel thinks that Tottel is the best text: he says, "dass der Text von E *nicht* der beste, glatteste, und am leichtesten zu geniessende ist, sieht man sofort, T *besonders* stellt einen viel *glatteren, poetischeren,* aber auch viel späteren Text dar, einen Text, der mehr der Zeit der Elisabeth als der Heinrich VIII angehört. Was E so wertvoll macht ist die Thatsache, dass es Wyatts eigene

ursprüngliche Fassung häufig in seiner eigenen Hand giebt."

With regard to the A and D MSS., Profs. Flügel and Padelford decide that A is tolerably faithful to the E text; curiously, however, both these critics give *two instances* of alteration in the A text which in fact do not occur. This will be referred to later in the examination of the MSS., page 9.

Mr. Padelford says of the D MS., " I find that though D is a pre-Elizabethan MS. it is less cautious in emendation than A, in fact, next to E it (*i. e.* A) is the most trustworthy of the Wyatt MSS."

Now the D MS. is not only " pre-Elizabethan " but contemporary with Wyatt; it contains contributions by, and signatures of, personal friends of his, and the question that arises in reading the views of the above mentioned critics is : " Are the differences in the D MS. to be taken as emendations, or are they Wyatt's first drafts which have been corrected in his autograph (E) MS. ? "

Again, if A is the most trustworthy of the MSS. after E, wherein lies its excellence ? Clearly the variants in A must be of a different type from those in D. The question can only be decided by a comparison of the variants in the three important MSS. E, A, and D; and by a further comparison of the variants with those of Tottel's edition. The E MS. must be taken as the basis of inquiry because it is Wyatt's autograph volume; and if Wyatt has followed any systematic method in form and style, the comparison of the variants will reveal that style; it will, moreover, make clear to us whether deviations from his earlier style have justified the alterations found in the text of Tottel's *Miscellany*.

The comparison of variants, then, must disclose : (1) Wyatt's system of work (if he had one), (2) the deviations from this system in the other MSS., and (3) will further show

whether Tottel's variations are justified by an alteration of method seen in Wyatt's later work.

Once and for all, this paper is not concerned with a smoother, better, or more poetical text, but with Wyatt's text, in order to discover his method of procedure, as the pioneer of our modern poetry. It was he who brought order out of chaos and re-established the line of five stresses—the line which figures so largely in Chaucer, and which had become a forgotten art since his day. With Wyatt we go into the workshop to see how he accomplished his task; we do not expect perfection of form or transcendental genius; because he was engaged in the foundation of the building, and not in the ornamentation of it. He introduced certain forms and marked out a definite way. The Elizabethans added the finishing touches.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS.

THE poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt are found in the following MSS. :—

The Egerton (E) MS. No. 2711	British Museum.
The Devonshire (D) MS. Add 17492	,, ,,
The Harrington (A) MS. No. 2, Add. 28635	,, ,,
The P MS. Add. 36529	,, ,,
The Harleian MS. No. 78	,, ,,
The Harrington MS. No. 1, Add. 28636	,, ,,
The Parker MS.	Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge.

The poems in the *E MS.* are written in a fine hand, signed and, in some cases, corrected, by Sir Thomas Wyatt. On f. 54a and ff. 66–100 the poems are written in Wyatt's own handwriting; they include the Psalms, which are written carelessly, and show marks of correction and re-correction by the author.

One poem of Surrey's occurs—a sonnet written in praise of the Psalms, beginning—

> The Great Macedon that owte of Persë chased.

Surrey's sonnet is written by another hand, on a blank page immediately preceding the Psalms. The latter part of the MS. contains Sir John Harrington's version of the Penitential Psalms written in six-lined stanzas, a page of moral sayings in Latin and English, and twelve French epigrams, including one of C. Marot's. Nott considers that the sentences and epigrams are written in Wyatt's hand; this, however, is not

the case, for the handwriting differs considerably from that of the Psalms, which we know to be Wyatt's. See copy of Wyatt's letter, Cotton MS. Vesp. F XIII, f. 160b. The handwriting is most likely that of John Harrington, into whose possession the MS. came on Wyatt's death. The MS. suffered considerably from the zeal of Puritan members of the family. Regarding secular poetry as the work of the devil, they endeavoured to efface the original contents by using the volume as a note-book to mark down heads of sermons, Hebrew sentences, and mathematical problems. For this reason, it is extremely difficult in some parts to decipher Wyatt's writing, but in spite of the vandalism, Wyatt's ink has proved more indelible than that of the puritans.

That the poems were intended for publication is evident from certain headings in the E MS. The rondeaus and short poems are marked 1 Ent.; the sonnets, 2 Ent.; the larger odes, 3 Ent.; the Psalms, 4 Ent.; the satires, 5 Ent.; and two letters " written to hys son oute of Spain " (and evidently copied later by a different hand), are marked Ent. 6.

The Devonshire (D) MS. is a small quarto volume, and consists chiefly of lyrics, sixty-three of which are found in no other MS., *nor in Tottel;* for this reason alone it is highly important. The poems in the earlier part of the volume are not written continuously as in the E MS., but occur in small groups, interspersed with poems by well-known personages at the court of Henry VIII. Further on, ff. 69–87, a large group of Wyatt's poems are written continuously and in one handwriting, signed in the same style as the autograph poems in the E MS., *i. e.* two letters, T.V. interlaced.

The D MS. is of peculiar interest; its history and the problems connected with it are discussed in Appendix I.

The A MS. is a transcript of a MS. said to have been

formerly in the possession of Mr. Harrington of Bath. The original has disappeared. This MS. contains many of the sonnets, besides the satires, the Penitential Psalms, and a few lyrics; and poems by uncertain authors.

Prof. Flügel and Mr. Padelford consider that this MS. does not greatly differ from E, and Mr. Padelford prefers it to the D MS. Both critics quote instances where A occasionally differs from E, resulting in the alteration of the sense; but in two instances quoted by them the statements are incorrect. The first instance occurs in the sonnet—

My galy chargèd with forgetfulness,

the reading of l. 4 in E MS. is: "that is my lord *stereth* with cruelnes"; now the same reading is found in A MS., but both critics quote the line as: "that is my lord *stereth up* with cruelnes." Mr. Padelford followed Flügel here, but later, when he included this sonnet in the *Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, he gave no alteration in the reading of A.

The second instance occurs in the sonnet, "Ther was never ffile." The A reading is shown to differ from that in E. But there are two versions in A, f. 37 and f. 40. The first version, f. 37, is different from that in E, and follows the D MS.; the second version, f. 40, is exactly like E except one word, written in the past tense in E (pardond) and in the present tense in A (pardons). This difference may be safely assumed to be a copyist's error.

Prof. Flügel evidently compared the *first* version of the A MS. with E, in ignorance of the fact that a second version in the A MS. followed the reading of the E version. The A MS. contains four poems which are found in no other MS., but are included in Tottel's *Miscellany*—

(1) The flaming sighes that boile within my breast.
(2) The pillar pearisht is wherto I lent.
(3) A ladye gave me a gyfte she had not.
(4) Stond who so list upon the slipper top.

The P MS. is the latest accession to the Wyatt MS. It contains nine of Wyatt's poems; two of which are included in Tottel, but found in no other MS. They are—

(1) Luckes my fair falcon.
(2) A face that shuld content me.

Thomas Park used this MS. for the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 1804.

The Harleian MS. contains seven of Wyatt's poems, three are included by Tottel, but are found in no other MS.; they are—

(1) Under this stone ther lieth at rest.
(2) Sighes ar my fode, drinck ar my teares.
(3) Like as the wind with raging blast.

The Harrington No. 1 is an exact transcript of the Egerton MS.; it needs no consideration.

The Parker MS.[1] contains the only complete version of the satire, "Mine owne John Poynz." All the other MSS. are deficient in a line or two, while the E MS., through a missing page, has lines 1–52 wanting. One other poem—

Lyke as the byrde within the cage enclosed—

is found in this MS. only, but is included in Tottel.

The MSS. E, D, and A furnish the bulk of the poems, and D contains poems not found in Tottel. The other MSS. contain eighteen poems between them, all found in Tottel, but are interesting as giving MS. proof of Wyatt's authorship; they are not necessary, however, in the investigation of the variants.

[1] Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge.

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF THE MSS. E, A, AND D

THE poems in the MSS. E, A, and D are divided into three groups for the purpose of discovering the differences in the nature of the variants.

1. Poems common to all three MSS.
2. Poems common to the A and D MSS.
3. Poems common to the D and E MSS.

Group 1 is fairly representative of Wyatt's work. It includes six sonnets, three epigrams, and poems in stanzas of seven, six, five, and four lines respectively, and satires. Specimens of the variants of these poems are given in Appendix C.

An examination of these variants gives the following results—

1. The number of instances where A differs from E is small in the sonnets; very slight in the odes, and considerable in the satires.
2. The D version differs considerably from E, and the style of difference in D is unlike that of A.

The *Sonnets* in A are often found to be exact transcripts of the E version; the only instance where A differs considerably is in the sonnet, "Ther was never ffile"; and it has already been shown that A contains two versions; the first follows D, and the second follows E. It was the comparison of the first version with E instead of the second that caused Prof. Flügel to quote this sonnet as an

example of the difference of reading in the A and E MSS.[1] The nature of the differences in the A and E MSS. is as follows :—

(*a*) The E and A versions differ in slight words ; (*b*) in some poems, particularly the satires, there is a tendency to add an extra syllable to the line in the A version, for example—

E thevyn (a very rare contraction),	A the heaven ;
,, feld,	,, feldish ;
,, to seke,	,, to seke for ;
,, spyd,	,, espyd.

(*c*) Differences having the appearance of copyist's errors—

E se a drag net,	A set a drag net ;
,, sitting,	,, sticking ;
,, ye do misseke,	,, ye do mislike.

(*d*) Change in the idea (1) for political reasons, (2) through a want of understanding of the original—

(1) E So sacks of *dirt be filled up in the cloyster* ;	A So sacks of dirt be filled: *the neat courtier.*
(2) E *Lerne at Rittson* that in a long white cote ;	A *Lerne of the ladde* that in a long white cote.

(*e*) The absence of an archaic word in A—

E so swine . . .	A so swin . . .
,, . . . chaw the tordes ;	,, . . . chaw dung.

One alteration occurs which is difficult to explain—

E Onles it be as to a calfe a chese ;	A Onles it be as to a Dogge a chese.

Nature of the differences in E and D :—

1. The reading in the D version is occasionally found as the first reading in the E MS, which is crossed out, and the corrected word over-written in Wyatt's hand, thus—

D Who hath herd of such tyranny before ;	E. Who hath herd of such cruelty ~~tyranny~~ before.

2. A weak initial syllable is sometimes omitted in E—

D *Now* farewell love ;	E Farewell love.

[1] The whole Table of Variants is in MS., but for purposes of utility only specimens are shown in this book. See Appendix C, page 140.

3. Plurals found in D are sometimes corrected for the singular in E—

   D Thy baytid hokes ; E Thy baytid hoke.

4. Substitution of a better word in E—

   D Under the scornful brow ; E Under disdaynful brow.

5. Alliteration in D avoided in E—

   D My grete greiff ; E My grete payne.

6. The pronouns are occasionally altered from particular (D) to general (E)—

   D Patiens do what *she* will ; E Patience do what *they* will.

Now these changes are such as an author is likely to make in his work, whereas the variants in A suggest copyist's errors, or emendations made for various reasons at a later time than the author wrote.

If the difference in the variants of the E and D versions are due to the author, D must contain the earlier versions which were later, but in Wyatt's lifetime, copied into the E MS., and revised by him. If the poems common to D and E (Group 3) corroborate this view, there will be just reason for concluding that D contains earlier versions of the poems.

Group 2

The poems common to the A and E MSS. are sonnets, satires, and the Song of Iopas; short poems, and the Psalms. The satires have been considered under Group 1 because portions of the satires are found in D. The Psalms will be considered by themselves and compared with the 1807 copy of the Psalms (Percy & Stevens edition).

Nature of the variants—

As in the first group, the sonnets show slight differences and copyist's errors. In the sonnet, "My galy chargèd with forgetfulness," the word "light" is crossed out in

the A version and replaced by the word "lyfe"; the line reads—

lyfe
As tho that deth were ~~light~~[1] in such a case.

This is no doubt an error due to the connecting of two opposite ideas, such as day and night, life and death (as here). There is a similar case in the D MS. where "day and nyght" occurs and "day and *howre*" is required for the rhyme.

The sonnet "Avysing the bright bemes," E, reads "A*d*vysing," in A. It is derived from the verb "avissare, to gaze at; the copyist of the A version alters the word to "a*d*vising." In one instance the words "hir of cruelnes" occur in E. This is not understood by the copyist of the A version, and he left a gap in the line. Another "Italianate" word, atraced, (E) is altered to araced (A), youthely desire (E) is altered to youthely fraile desire (A). In the last case it will be seen that an extra syllable is gained in the A version, but the insertion of the word "fraile" in A balances youthely in E, for it was meant to be read as a trisyllable, and the A copyist took it for a dissyllable. The poem "Mine olde dere enemy" varies considerably. For example—

E. st. XIX, l. 5—	A.
l. 5. He is rú|ler: ánd | sins then | nevèr | bell strikes |	He is | ruler | sins which | bell nev|er strikes |
l. 6. Where I am | that I | here not | my plainte | *tŏ rĕnew*	That I | here not | as sound|ing to | reneue
l. 7. And he | himself | he know-eth | *thăt Ĭ say* | is true. |	My plaintes: | Himself | he know|eth that | I say | is true|
E. st. VI. 2—	A.
Or els a|ny o|thr gift | gevèn | me of | nature (Alexandrine).	Or oth|er gift | geven | me of | nature.

The changes made in the A version in the above examples are in order to bring the lines into the compass of ten

[1] The Italian runs: Che la tempesta e'l fin par ch'abbi *a scherno*. Wyatt translates freely, "As tho that deth were *light* in such a case."

syllables : the E version comes into a five-stressed line[1] by slurring vowels in juxtaposition and by admitting trisyllabic feet; but this is one of the most faulty of Wyatt's poems, and by its position in the E MS. is an early attempt.

The style of variant in Group 2 is similar to that in Group 1, namely, differences of slight words, copyists' errors, changes which ensure a ten-syllable line in A, and alteration to avoid archaic, or Italianate words.

Group 3.—Poems common to D and E.
Rondeaus, Odes and Songs.

The following examples in the variants produce a better poetical effect in the E version—

1. "Behold love—"

D	E
To the disdaynful To the *dis*pyteful ;	To the disdaynful To the spiteful.

2. "Resound my voice—"

D	E
O Tygers hert who hath thus clokid the *that art so cruel* covered with bewtie ;	*O stony hert* ho hath thus joyned the *So cruell thou* art cloked with bealtie.

3. "They fle from me—"

But sins that I so *gentilly* am servid *What think you* by this that she hath deservid ;	But sins that I so *kyndely* am servid *I would fain* know what she hath deserved

4. "I find no peace—"

I flye *aboute the hevin* yet can I not aryse ;	I flye *above the wind* yet can I not arise.

5. "Hevyn and erth—"

My herte, my lowke, my teris Myn Iyes my words and eke my drery chere ;	*My face* my lowke my teres Myn Iyes . . .

6. "Desire alas my master and my fo." This epigram differs in every line, it is written out entire in the Variant Table. E has the stronger and more poetical version, the phrasing is better and alliteration is avoided in the last line.

[1] Wyatt employs Alexandrines occasionally; see last quotation on p. 14.

In all these examples, the E version is an improvement on the D version. Example 1 avoids a repetition of the prefix "dis;" Example 2 alters "Tygers hert" with its idea of *fierce* cruelty, to "stony hert," in order to express the *coldness* of the lady. The alteration of "gentilly" for "kyndely" in Example 3 avoids repetition, for *gentilnes* occurs in a previous line, and the idea is this: Through my gentleness I have been made to suffer, and am now treated "gentilly" by her . . . "gentilly" is used ironically, but gives a false idea, for if the lover receives "gentilnes" for "gentilnes" he cannot complain. The ironical meaning is therefore better brought out by another word.

Example 4.—The D version translates the Italian "e volo supra 'l cielo," but the E version expresses the existence "of the two contraries in oon degre," by showing that there was no apparent obstacle in the way of his flight. "I flye *above the wind* yet can I not arise," E.

Example 5.—The E version prevents confusion of ideas, by expressing the outward signs of grief only, "*My face*, my lowke. . . . The D version confuses the metaphor of the outward signs with the hidden seat of grief, . . ." *My hert*, my lowke. . . .

The weak initial syllable is occasionally suppressed in E—

D And therwithal swetely . . . ; E Therwithal swetely.

The pronoun is changed from the particular to the general—

D I am not ded altho I had a fall ; E He is not dede that sometyme had a fall.

The variants in E and D, Group 3, are similar to those in Group 1. The E version in many instances is an amendment of the D version, and is of such a character as an author would be likely to make in his work when he had attained to greater skill in composition.

There is *one* example in D of an amended version. The Rondeau, "Thou hast no faith," has an extra syllable in nearly every line, in order to obtain a regular decasyllabic version—

D Thou hast no faith of him that *eke* hath none
but thou must love him nedes bye *good* reason
for as the proverbe saith ryght notable
*Every*thing seketh his semblable ;

E Thou hast no faith of him that hath none
but thou must love him nedes bye reson
for as saieth a proverbe notable
Eche thing seketh his semblable.

Now it is extremely rare that a variant in the E version is caused by the addition of a syllable for the sake of metre alone, and in D this is the only example of the kind that occurs. This rondeau probably circulated in MS. before it was copied into D MS. and was altered during its circulation.[1] The original version was evidently copied into the E MS.; in the other cases E has been corrected; proofs are found in the crossing out in E of the original D version, the improvement in phraseology, and the clearer expression of the idea.

Summing up the results of the comparison of the variants in E, A, and D: A shows signs of being copied at a later period without the supervision of the author; hence copyist's errors, misunderstanding of words derived from the Italian, changes for political reasons, and occasional

[1] This is a very important point. The E version is a sonnet hitherto regarded as hopelessly irregular, yet it was never corrected by Wyatt. It was probably one of his metrical experiments, for which he had Dante's authority in combining lines of various lengths, here eights and tens, with extra end syllables, making a ninth or eleventh. Wyatt was closely studying form at this time, and noted the Italian preference (Dante's authority) for *odd numbers*. Wyatt read Dante's treatise in Trissino's Italian version, published for the first time together with Trissino's *Poetica*, 1529, but instead of employing weak endings, the last syllable in every case is accented.

alterations to ensure a ten-syllable line. There are no changes in language or in meaning in order to obtain a better version of the poem. The change made for political reasons gives some clue to the date of the A version.

E So sackes of durt be filled up in the cloyster ;	A So sacks of dirt be filled : the neat courtier.

Tottel keeps the reading of A. The *Miscellany* was printed in 1557, a year previous to Elizabeth's accession. Mary came to the throne in 1553, and it was during her reign that reflections on monastic life were regarded as heretical, and were punished accordingly. The satires in the A version are therefore not earlier than 1553, or later than 1557. By internal evidence, part of the A version is *at least* eleven years later than Wyatt, who died in 1542. Language had become more fixed, spelling more uniform, and the ten-syllable line was written with ease. The copyist of the A version at times either misunderstood or was ignorant of the expression and the metre of Wyatt.

On the other hand, the variants in D bear evidence of being the original version, for they are found in E, corrected by Wyatt in his own handwriting. The versions in E are characteristic of the author.

There is no attempt in the E MS. to regulate the line to a ten-syllable, but a *five-stressed* line may be made out by admitting trisyllabic feet and slurring vowels with occasional Alexandrines. The addition or omission of syllables is never found for the sake of the metre only, whereas in A there is a distinct tendency to bring the line within the compass of ten syllables (*i. e.* of five Iambic feet). There is but one instance in D in which a poem has evidently been corrected for the sake of the metre; the non-corrected form is found in E, and is meant as a metrical experiment by Wyatt.

D, except in this one instance, shows signs of containing

the first versions, and E is the corrected version of D; certain characteristic changes are observable in E which point to correction (by the author) of the D text.

The nature of the variants in A, E, and D are uniform throughout the MSS., but vary considerably from one another.

CHAPTER IV

THE PSALMS

The Penitential Psalms remain to be considered. They are written in Wyatt's own hand, and except for the Song of Iopas (unfinished) they are the last entries made in the E MS. They were printed by John Harrington and Thomas Raynauld in 1549, and they are found in the A version, but were not included in Tottel's *Miscellany*.

The question of the Psalms is important. Nott suggested that Wyatt may have written another version, carefully corrected, because the Psalms in the E MS. show signs of being hastily written, and are corrected and re-corrected, giving the impression that the E MS. contains the rough draft.

The Psalms were written in 1540, during the latter part of the year; Wyatt was imprisoned in 1541. If the Psalms had been revised again, and another copy made, as Nott suggests, it must have been at the end of his life, 1541–2.[1] John Harrington in all probability would have received this version, together with the E MS., on Wyatt's death, and would have used it for the publication of the Psalms in 1549. If striking differences occur, they should be traced in the 1807 edition of Percy and Stevens, for these editors used the 1549 edition, together with the MSS., to make their variorum edition of the Psalms, which is to be seen in

[1] But from his release, 1541, to his death in 1542, he was actively engaged in the King's service. During this last eighteen months of his life, Henry VIII seems to have placed more trust in Wyatt than in any other man in the kingdom.

Thomas Park's copy, in the British Museum. Now references are made in this copy to the MSS. and "P.C." These letters evidently stand for *printed copy*, i. e. the 1549 copy. Where "P.C." differs from the MSS. it is found to agree with the E version; it is therefore safe to conclude that Wyatt did not make another copy of the Psalms; as they appear in the E version, so they were printed by John Harrington.

The most important variants in the Psalms will be found on page 145 of the Variant Table. A has slight variants, such as have been noted throughout the poems—omission or admission of small words, changes in a word without alteration of the sense, and changes with alterations of the meaning.

There are eight instances of change affecting the meaning. All these changes result in the *weakening of the passage*, while the reading of "P.C." follows the E version, except the line "*For that in heins* to fle his rage so ryff," E. The reading in "P.C." is "To foreign realms to fle his rage so ryff." The reading in A is, "In foreign realms to fle his rage so ryff." The same readings are found in E and "P.C," while the A version not only has a change of meaning but shows deterioration of the text; for example—

Ps. 143. 1. By skourge and whipp and prykyng *spurr*. E and "P.C."
By skorge and whipp and prykyng *soures*. A.

2. But to this *samble runyng* in the way. E and "P.C."
But to this *sample rouning* in the way. A.

In Example 1 the vigour of the line is quite spoiled by changing the word "spurr" to "soures."

In Example 2 "samble" (E) means assembly. Wyatt, in a particularly forcible passage, describes the nations and peoples streaming towards the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem, but breaks off because of his inability to call up an image of so vast a multitude; "runyng" means running.

In A the alteration results in nonsense: "but to this sam*ple* rouning" (*i. e.* whispering) "in the way."

In the essential points of difference between E and A, E and "P.C." are found to have the same readings, except in the alteration of the word "heins"; in every case of difference, A is either weak or absolutely faulty. All the available evidence, therefore, proves that E contains the only version of the Psalms made by Wyatt; that the "P.C." (or printed copy), *i. e.* the 1549 edition, was made from the E version; and that John Harrington, being ignorant of the word "heins," made a paraphrase from the English version of the Psalms, in this particular verse. "Heins[1]" is a dialectal word, used in old Yorkshire dialect, and traceable to Icelandic origin. Wyatt's family was of Yorkshire origin, hence his use of the word. It never occurs in the South; this fact may account for its omission in John Harrington's edition.

The Paraphrase of the Psalms is Wyatt's longest piece of work, and it was written late (1540). It will be advisable to compare some of his characteristic lines in the Psalms with examples taken from the earlier poems, in order to find out whether his method altered. These examples will then be compared with Tottel's version. In this way we shall discover whether Tottel was carrying out Wyatt's method, by following up hints discovered in his later work.

Examples of versification in the E version of the Psalms—

1. *Initial strong stress*—

Fés|trd is | by fol|lie and neg|ligens
hé | damith | his dedes | and fyndeth | playne (E)
cf. (he dam|ith this | his dede | and fynd|eth playne) (A)

2. *Inverted stress*—

Lóve to | give law | unto his subjects hertes
Stóde in | the Iyes | of Barsabe the bryght

3. *Slurring of vocal syllables*—

I ⁀on the lord | have ev|er set | my con|fidence (E)
cf. (I in | the lord | have set | my con|fidence (A)

[1] Heins: for meaning see Glossary.

The chere the manere bealtie and contenance (E)
Oh happy ⁀are they y^t^ have forgyffnes gott
Altho in the be no ⁀alteration
So ⁀ar myn entrailis infect with fervent sore
O Lord thou knowst the ⁀inward contemplation.

4. *Slurring of weak syllables ending in r, l, or n, before* another weak syllable—

In ev⁀il for good agaynst me they be bent
and the for ever ⁀eternity doth crown
tho I have fallen⁀ by frailty overthwart.

5. *Spirit* is monosyllabic, and -eth is generally non-syllabic in the body of the verse—

Nor in his spryte is ought undiscovered
And gynn⁀eth to⁀allow his payne and penitence.

Examples will now be taken from the earlier poems in order to compare Tottel's version—

1. *Initial strong stress, and strong stress after the cæsura—*

E As|surëd | by craft | to ⁀excuse | thy fault
Farewell | I say || *part*|ing from | the fyre ;

T Assured | by craft | for to | excuse . . .
Farewell | I say | *de*part|ing. . .

2. *Slurring of vocal syllables—*

E One beme | of pit|ie is ⁀in | her clowd|y loke ;

T One beam | of ruth | is in | her clowd|y loke.

3. *Slurring of vowel with a following "h"—*

E And to | my pow|re alwaies have I | the ⁀*honor*ed;

T And to | my powre | always | *have the* | honored.

4. The termination -eth is generally regarded as non-syllabic in the body of the verse. Tottel avoids this termination—

E Me lysteth no longer rotten boughs to clyme ;

T Me lyst no long|er . . .

Thus, in the *earlier poems*, as in the Psalms, Wyatt uses certain methods of versification. Tottel avoids them.

Other characteristics in the E version *not* found in Tottel are the employment of final -èr, -èd, -èn, -òn, at the end of

a line; this is a method adopted in Wyatt's earlier, and avoided in his later, poems—

-ed, E	T
Ther was nev|er file | half | so well | filed|	Was nev|er file | yet half | so well | yfiled.
To frame other while I was begiled ;	To frame other while that I was begiled.
-er, E	T
Then gile | begil|ed plained shuld be | nev*er*	Then gile begiled plained shuld be *nev*(er)
And the reward littl trust for ev*er*.	And the reward is little trust for *ev*(er).
-en, E	T
I ser|ved the | not to | be forsak*en*	I served the not that I shuld be fors*ak*(en)
But to preserve it was to the tak*en*.	But to preserve lo it to the was *tak*(en).
-on, E	T
Now sins in the is none other reas*on* . . .	Now sins in thee is there non other *reas*(on).

All these examples show definite rules of construction followed by Wyatt in the E version. Changes are made in Tottel *in order to avoid these rules*, and to adhere to a regular decasyllabic or hendecasyllabic line with alternating weak and strong stresses. It may be noted here that whereas the A version of the sonnets is very similar to that of E, Tottel has numerous alterations for metrical purposes. (See table.)

Finally, we are able to compare the last poem (The Song of Iopas) in the E MS. with Tottel, for this song is included in the *Miscellany*. If there are any differences in Wyatt's late method it ought to be discovered here—

A l. 3—	
That myghty Atlas did teche the supper lastyng long ;	That mighty Atlas taught the supper lasting long.
(*b*) l. 4.	
With crispid lockes on golden harp *Iopas* sang in his song ;	With crispid lockes on golden harp *Iopas* sang in song.

(*c*) l. 11.

And it is calld by name the first *mov*ing heven ;	And it is called by name the first and moving heaven.

(*d*) l. 19.

Artik the one northward that we se ;	Artik the one northward we se.

In these examples, slurring of vowels, two strong stresses without an intervening weak stress, and the use of a trisyllable in the E version *are avoided in Tottel.*

Mr. Simonds [1] pointed out that some of the variants in T show a want of understanding of the poem ; for example, " first and moving " (Example *c* above) implies that the other heavens were stationary, whereas the whole seven heavens are moving.

l. 31 reads—

E And eké those érryng séven in cír*cles* ás they stráy ;	T And eke those erryng seven in circ*le* as they stray.

By employing the singular Tottel again fails to bring out the idea of *each* of the seven heavens in a plane of its own, revolving on a common axis. The most striking example of Tottel's misunderstanding of the text occurs in l. 54—

E And ín the sáme the dáy, his yié the sónne therín he stíx.	T And ín the sáme *the dáyes éye* the sonne therin her sticks.

" His yie " is in apposition to the " sonne," and object of " the day." Tottel reads " dayes eye " as possessive and changes " he " to " her."

l. 61, E The sky is last and *first* next us.	T The sky is last and fixt next us.

" First " is evidently the correct reading, " fixt " is again at variance with the idea of the moving heaven.

Mr. Simond's [2] theory was the result of a comparison of

[1] *Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Poems.* 1889.

[2] See W. E. Simond's monograph, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Poems* 1889.

the text of Nott with that of Tottel; had he been able to examine the E text, he would have discovered that his surmise was correct, and that the text of Tottel is inferior; in other cases Tottel corrects for purposes of metre, without weakening the text.

It is of importance, then, to note that in Wyatt's latest work in the E MS., *The Psalms*, and *The Song*, the Psalms in the A version show distinct deterioration, and the Song in Tottel's version is in parts inferior to the original version.

The poems have now been revised; a glance at the Table of Variants shows that the lyrical songs present few, if any, differences in structure, for the reason that they are chiefly composed in eights, sixes, or fours; or in combinations of these verses. The changes result from the differences of treatment in the decasyllabic line; A shows a tendency, and Tottel a distinct aim, to make the line a decasyllable or hendecasyllable by alternate weak and strong syllables of five Iambic feet; the D and E version give a wider scope to the line, by allowing trisyllabic feet, absence of weak stresses, and other devices to ensure, *not* a regular alternation of weak and strong syllables, but a line with five strong stresses. Many of the lyrics in D are not found elsewhere. The Rondeaus and Sonnets, common to D and E, are found revised in E by means of certain characteristic changes which might naturally be made by the author. On the other hand, where poems are common to A and E, the changes in A are not those which we should expect from the author, but are such as would naturally occur in copying poems at a later date, and consist of copyists' errors, omission of archaic words, and, in the case of the Psalms, deterioration of the text.

Tottel carries out thoroughly what we find in A occasionally—the regulating of Wyatt's *five-stressed line with variations*, to a five-foot Iambic line; deterioration of the text also occurs in Tottel in the case of the Song of Iopas.

Tottel varies considerably in the Sonnets, A follows the E version. In the Satires both A and Tottel vary greatly from E. A change is made both in the A version and in Tottel for political reasons—to avoid any reflection on monastic life. This gives us a date for the A MS. which must lie between the years 1553–7. These satires present many differences. It seems probable, then, that since the Sonnets in A follow E fairly closely, and the later poems, especially the Psalms and the Satires, vary considerably—that there were *two* periods for the writing of the A MS.; the Sonnets were *copied* without any intention to revise. Later, certainly eleven years after Wyatt's death, the Satires and the Psalms were revised according to the principles of the regular ten-syllable line.

Conclusion

The result of the examination proves that Wyatt has certain well-defined characteristics, and he adheres to a certain standard, both in the earlier and the later poems. The aim in the A version is contrary to this standard, and Tottel ignores or deliberately changes it. The D version is proved in some instances to contain the earlier version, but where in other respects E differs, it appears to be a corrected form due to the author himself. Thus D, though differing from E, is not only reliable, but presents Wyatt's earlier work, which is corrected by him in his autograph MS. One instance only occurs in D where the form of the poem is evidently revised by another hand than Wyatt's.

A and Tottel have certain characteristics in common; A is tentative, but Tottel is thorough. These characteristics are entirely at variance with Wyatt's method, both in the earlier and in the later poems. Tottel deliberately sets aside Wyatt's standard, for a regular ten-syllable line,

whereas Wyatt inclines to a *five-stressed line* with *much freedom within the line;* therefore Tottel is of no use for Wyatt's text; his importance is indubitable as presenting a certain stage in versification of his own day, showing exactly the change that had taken place since Wyatt's death.

Therefore we must turn to the E text, Wyatt's own MS., for versification as he understood it, and accept Tottel as a later stage in the insistence of regularly alternating weak and strong stresses; it is the reducing of the line to a dead level of correctness that makes it so dull, but it was necessary as a basis for the Elizabethan poets, who fused it with the fire of genius.

As Wyatt's scheme is disclosed we comprehend that he was dimly conscious of, and groping after, the possibilities of the English five-foot line; he wanted to make of rhyme what Shakespeare finally achieved in blank verse, but he did not grasp the fact that verse bounded by rhyme cannot be allowed the freedom which blank verse may possess.

Surrey, indeed, introduced blank verse, but it was Wyatt's line at its best, with its freedom and strength, which anticipated Shakespeare; the absence of weak stresses, and the juxtaposition of two strong stresses together with enjambement, were the means by which Shakespeare arrived at his magnificent periods in blank verse.

If Wyatt had lived to see his poems published, they would certainly have been the text of the E MS., and not that of Tottel.

Tottel " sees a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it,"
Wyatt " with a great aim to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it."

CHAPTER V

WYATT'S LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR

WYATT'S language presents one of the difficulties in the way of understanding his verse. The early sixteenth-century language in England and France was in a state of flux, and words, modern in appearance, had a different pronunciation. The halting, irregular effect of Wyatt's verse in the present day is largely due to persistently reading him in a modern way. The necessity of constantly changing the accent or even the pronunciation of the rhyming words which no longer rhyme together, produces an unnecessary harshness. But clothe Wyatt's thoughts in his own language and much of the irregularity disappears, for the eye is an aid to the ear, and the sixteenth-century spelling helps us to adopt the accent that Wyatt intended.

The use of the Romance accent forms the basis of Wyatt's pronunciation in the early poems. It was generally on the last syllable, instead of the first or root syllable after the English manner—hence reasón, seasón, pleasúre instead of réason, séason, pléasure.

In Wyatt's day the accent was steadily shifting to the root syllable in all Romance words, and Wyatt seems to have been deliberately archaic in the earlier poems. In his later work it is less noticeable, for there he avoids the Romance accent in his rhyming scheme.

In the Sonnets and Rondeaus particularly, the accent often falls on the syllables -er, -en, -or, -ed, at the end of a line, but Wyatt avoids such rhymes in the Satires and

the Psalms. The earlier rhymes have certain series which Wyatt constantly uses—for example, done, gone, alone, one, moan, rhyme together, and were probably pronounced approximately to the New English word "gone."

The following series constantly occur in the earlier part of the E MS.—

Wise, devise, ise (*i.e.* ice), arise, servis, guise, rise, paradise ;	-ise pronounced like N.E. ease.
Harber, banner, suffer, danger, nere ;	-er pronounced like modern French final "ere."
Hert, smert, perse, reverse;	-er pronounced like N.E. -ere, in there.
Gone, alone, one, done, mone ;	-one pr. like N.E. gone.

Cas, apase	rhymes with	pass, alas,	
ben, often	,,	,,	then sildam,
truys (truce), use . . .	,,	,,	abuse, refuse,
come, some	,,	,,	doom (come is sometimes spelt *cume*),
madame	,,	,,	flame,
endever, persever . . .	,,	,,	ever, lever,
hete, great	,,	,,	frete,
wordes	,,	,,	bordes,
last, past, tast	,,	,,	hast, wast.

The Psalms, Satires, and Song of Iopas show a great advance in the variety and choice of rhyme, Romance accents are avoided, the rhyme word is generally accented in the modern manner, but such rhymes as the following are found occasionally—

glose, disclose,	rhyming with	unlose,	
cher (cheer)	,,	,,	wher,
passe	,,	,,	face,
grace, case, apace	,,	,,	alase (alas).

All the above rhymes are found in Chaucer; moreover, they are the rhymes that most commonly occur in the *Canterbury Tales*. Wyatt, therefore, was archaic in his spelling, and did not adopt a more modern style until about 1536, when he began the Satires.

Wyatt's spelling may be summarized under certain definite rules. Like every other early sixteenth and mid-sixteenth century writer, his spelling was very varied, some words are spelt in five or six different ways, but underlying the irregularity there are certain tendencies which remain constant throughout his work. He preferred—

e, to ea or ee, New English spelling.
o, to oa or oo ,, ,,
y, to i ,, ,,

We find teres, teris, terys, but very rarely tears, as in A. and T.
We find hert, herte, hart, but very rarely heart, as in A. and T.

Use of "e."

Wyatt.	New English.	
e	ea	brest, ded, endever, hevin, helth, reddily, thret, dense, dred, hed, hevinesse, mesur, shred, welth.
er(e)	ear	appere, clere, forbere, here, nerre, dere, eryes, fere, lern, wery.
e	ea	bequeth, beme, clene, ech, festid, leve, lede, mede.
e	ee	aggre, fele, repete, tre, degre, pele, se, the (pers. pronoun).
er	ar	dert, ferr, hert, sperklid, sterve, sherp, derk, herd, sperk, sperkling, sterre.
e	a	brend, then (for than).

Occasionally e for i, N.E., and ei for ai, N.E.

e	i	ferm, kendlid, shert, shever, wether (wither).
ei	ai	feith, streight, and dialectal heins.

Use of "o."

o	oa	boste, coles, cloke, grone, mone, oke, oth.
o	oo	boke, fote, fole, loke, sone, schole, wode; but foole, schoole are found.
oo	o	In monosyllables—doo, foo, goo, too (-to).
-oun	on, -un	hounger, thounder, wounder.
-our	-or	fourther, retourn, swourd (also retorn).
-ow	ou	bowgh, clowd, cowd (also could), dowtful, mowth.
-aw	au	cawse, cawme (calm), lawrill, pawse.
-owre	our	howre, lowre, powre, sowre.

y is constantly used in early sixteenth-century spelling in place of N.E. "i."

Wyatt.	New English.	
ȳ	ı	fynd, kynde, revyse, tyme, tyer; find, right, spider, tire, are also found.
y̆	ĭ	gyve, kysse, lyve, styng, wyng ; ring, bring, sing, are also found.
-ayn	-ain	complayne, payne, trayn, disdayne, remayne, vayne; also vain, disdain.
-yng -yth	-ing -eth	The poems in Wyatt's handwriting and the copyist of the D MS. prefers -yng and -yth. The scribe of the E MS. usually writes -ing and -eth.

Consonants.

is(e)	ice	devise, ise, perse, prise, servis, twise, voyse ; also voyce.
-ns	-nce	hens, negligens, resistans.
k	c (guttural)	rankled, skarr, sikk, skant, wikednes.
nck	nk	drinck, thinck, thanck.
double consonants	single	fisshe, gentill, pomppe, releffe, sobbe, gnasshe, gonne, prouff, sellf, sonne.

There is confusion in gh, ght and the combinations wh.

gt	ght	lengt, strengt.
ght	gh	sight (sigh), thought (though).
wh	w or h	whote (hot), whete (wet), whaite for both wait and weight.

Wyatt reserves the use of -ea for Romance words in -ai pleasur, reason, season, peace (Fr. plaisir, raison, saison, paix), but mesur (Fr. mésure).

A MS. and Tottel have the " ea " spelling for native and Romance words indiscriminately.

Romance words accented on the last syllable figure largely in the earlier part of the E MS. When the metre requires it these words take the English accent, and we find, fórtune and fortùne, crýstal and crystàl, hónor and honòr. The following Romance suffixes are found—[1]

-age	imàge, outràge, visàge.
-ail(l)	travàill, marvàill.
-ain	certàin, uncertàyn.

[1] This list is partly derived from Alscher, *Sir Thomas Wyatt und Seine Stellung*. Wien, 1886.

-al	crystàl.
-ance	contenànce.
-ence	presèns.
-aunce	grevàunce, mischàunce.
-aunt	plesàunt, semblàunt.
-esse	maistrèsse, distrèsse.
-er	manèr, suffèr.
-et	secrèt.
-ise, -ice	servìs, justice.
-i-all	speciàll.
-on, -or	reasòn, seasòn, honòr, erròr, favòr.
-une	fortùne.
-ur(e)	mesùr, displeasùr(e), pleasùr(e).
-ie, (y)e,	beautiè, libertiè, nativitè.

Wyatt has adopted the sixteenth-century French spelling in the words faict, perfaict, fruict, beaultie; learned influence had restored the " c " in words like faict, and the " l " in words like beaultie, in ignorance of the philological development of the language where factum > fait, and bellitatem > beautè.

The words fievre and liepre show French spelling; the English equivalents in the sixteenth century were " fever " and " leprous person "; the word " leper " was used for leprosy. Example : " The leper of him was clensid." (Wyclif's Bible.)

Italianate words found in Wyatt are : Avysing, traced, atraced, depaynted.

There is an attempt to differentiate between the words " fair " (comely), and " fair " (market), but the attempt breaks down—

fair (comely) spelt fayre < O.E. faegr.
fair (market) spelt faire < Fr. foire.

The word " fourther " is employed in the sense of helping forward, " furder " is employed adverbially.

Words found only in Wyatt are *kapper* and *heins*, derived from northern dialectal words. (See Glossary.) They are due to his Yorkshire origin.

The only distinctive Kentish word found in Wyatt is "cant," employed for a piece of land, and hence "a portion."

Grammatical Constructions—

Final "e" is found in adjectives, verbs and nouns, and the adjectival "e" is kept before the adverbial termination -ly.

Adjectives : bolde, longe, fayre, softe.

Verbs : Examples occur in the infinitive and first person singular of the present tense, to hounte, bowe, burne.

Nouns : hewe, origine, doubte, clowde, and kynde-nes.

Adverbs : kyndely, softely, richely, goodely, youthely.

This final "e" is by no means constant.

Plurals—

The Plural ending -es is found in the E MS.; the usual form in the D MS. is -is, -ys.

E MS. Wittes, thoughtes, daies, wordes, doubtes, teres.
D MS. yeris, eris, wittis, teris, hookis,
erys, terys.

Old Neuter Plural occurs in Iyen, as well as the forms Iyes, yes, eyes.

Genitive termination -es.

"body*es* ease, labour*es* salve."

Old Feminine Genitive ending -e, occurs in herte

"herte sorrow."

There is an interesting survival of the third person plural personal pronouns side by side with the modern forms; these examples occur in the poems written in Wyatt's own handwriting—

Nom. thei, also the, they,
Gen. theire ,, their,
Dat. theim ,, them.

Verbal endings—

E. MS. Third person sing., present -eth D MS. -es.
rarely -yth ,, -ys.
,, Past part. ending . . -ed ,, -id.
,, Pres. part. . . . . -ing
rarely -yng.

One example occurs of archaic participial ending in "quakynd." Past part. prefix "y-" occurs rarely, "yfixed," "yknowen."

NOTE.—The y- prefix is found in Tottel as a device for obtaining an extra syllable.

Strong Verbs—

Remains of the original ablaut series are found in the following verbs—

drave, chase, to-torn, bacen, shapen, strake.

Present.	*Pret. sing.*	*Past part.*
Cl. I. (drifan)	(draf) drave	
Cl. II. (ceôsan)	(ceâs) chase (M.E. chese) Cf. Surrey: "Surrey for love than chase."[22]	
Cl. III. (beran)	(baer)	(boren) to-torn.
Cl. VI. (faran)	(for)	(faren) bacen.

The past part. "to-torn" contains an example of the O.E. intensitive prefix "to."

One instance occurs (*cowd*) of an old form of the *preterite present* verb. The usual spelling is "could."

Cl. II. Can, cuðe, > cude > coud, before the intrusion of "l" on analogy with would, and should.

The Preterite *yede* occurs in the Psalms—

O.E. geode, > M.E. zeode, zede, yede, by ordinary palatal development of "g" before front vowels.

The intensitive prefix "for" occurs in *for-done*.

Weak Verbs—

Unusual forms of weak verbs are found in the following: kest, staulk, shright, quent. (See Glossary.)

Shrighte is found in Chaucer, A 2817:

"Shrighte Emelie and howleth Palamon."

Wyatt used this preterite form (1) as an infinitive, and (2) as a verbal noun.

(1) And you so reddy sighes to make me *shright.*
(2) With dedly *shright* and cry.

Traces of dialect in Wyatt are few. The use of " k " in skant, sikk, skar, and kest, denote northern influence. The plural termination -ys, -is, and the past part. -id, found in the D MS., may be due to Northern origin,[1] and the words kapper, heins, found only in Wyatt, are traced to a northern source.

Wyatt's early rhymes and his manner of spelling suggest that Chaucer was his model, but his method of versification at first sight seems to be sufficient answer to prove the contrary; can there be any possible connection between Wyatt's ideas of the ten-syllable line and the smooth, regular, flowing line of Chaucer? Moreover (it may be argued), Wyatt's poems do not suggest Chaucerian influences, there are no nature touches, no descriptions of " the sote season," which we find in Surrey's verse.

But it is within recent times that Chaucer and his system of versification has been discovered; down to the end of the eighteenth century he was travestied by his editors; the syllabic " e " which forms the basis of his verse was neglected for want of being understood; even Dryden, while recognizing his worth, thought it necessary to set him before the public in modern language. " The verse of Chaucer," he said, " is not melodious to us, it is a rough diamond which must be polished ere it shines."

Dryden's remarks in the *Essays* prepare for the theory that Wyatt may have taken Chaucer as a model: " The verse of Chaucer, I confess, is not harmonious to us; but 'tis like the eloquence of one whom Tacitus commends, it

[1] Lekebusch, *Londoner Urkundesprache von 1430–1500* (Ed. 1907), shows that these northern forms are used indiscriminately with the midland forms in the London speech of this period.

was *auribus istius temporis accommoda:* they who lived with him and some time after him, thought it musical; and it continues so, even in our judgment, if compared with the numbers of Lidgate and Gower, his contemporaries; there is the *rudeness of a Scotch tune* in it, which is natural and pleasing, *though not perfect.*" Such is Dryden's criticism on Chaucer's verse, at the very moment that he is setting forth the native genius of the poet, and comparing him on the one hand with Ovid, and on the other with Boccaccio. Dryden explains in the same essay what is lacking in Chaucer's verse: "It were an easy matter to produce some thousands of his verses, which are *lame for want of half a foot,* and *sometimes a whole one,* and which no pronunciation can make otherwise." (*Fables, Essays,* vol. ii, ed. W. P. Ker.)

Wyatt had very serious intentions in versification when he turned from Court poetry to introduce the sonnet, and to establish a ten-syllable line. He was a scholar, and undertook the work carefully; he chose Petrarch as his master, but needed at the same time an English model. His thoughts must have turned to Chaucer, as the great national poet, to help him with the versification.

Now Richard Pynson, printer to the king, had published the *Boke of Canterbury Tales* in 1526. He had previously printed a very beautiful edition of the *Tales* 1490–3 ? (exact date unknown), said to have been arranged by Caxton; but this work was published in troublous times, and it was not until the Tudors were settled firmly on the throne that an interest was taken in literature. That the 1526 edition was known and widely read is evident from the fact that four years later Thomas Thynne published his edition, claiming for it completeness and freedom from errors "which had crept into the earlier editions." There is little difference in the merit of the 1526 and 1532 editions; the later publication, however, contains more of Chaucer's works;

both show examples of the omission of the syllabic " e " and consequent crippling of the rhythm.

Wyatt learned from Chaucer the use of a syllabic " e." Examples have been given in the grammar section showing that it occurs in nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and before the adverbial termination. This is not merely orthographical. Reading over Wyatt's versification from the E MS., it is evident that he means a syllabic " e " to be read in certain places; the plural termination -es is also syllabic at times. Wyatt understood the art of musical composition, and just as he employed a dotted note or a rest to fill up the bar in music, so he made use of the syllabic " e " to give the full number of syllables to the line. Wyatt was also helped by his early training in Romance languages, where the final " e " plays an important part in versification; thus he was peculiarly fitted to cope with difficulties and to grasp the truth concerning the syllabic " e " in Chaucer which others might have passed over.

VI

COMPARISON OF WYATT'S VERSIFICATION WITH PYNSON'S EDITION OF CHAUCER

It is worth while turning to the text of the 1526 edition of Chaucer to see exactly how he appeared to Wyatt. The first few lines of the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* run as follows—

Richard Pynson's edition of *Chaucer*, 1526—

1. When thát | Aprílle || *with* | his shóur|es sóte
2. The dróught | of Márch | hath p*ér*|*cèd* the róte
3. When Ze|phirus | eke with | his so*t*|*ë* bréth
   enspy | red hath | in ev|ry holte | and heth
4, 3. The ten|der cropp|*es* ánd | the yóng|*ĕ* sónne
1. Hath in | the Ram | *halfe* | his cóurs | yrónne
5. That slep | *en all* night | with o|pen eye
6. So pricke*th* | hem na|ture in | her cor|agés
7. Then long|en folke | to go on | pilgrím|agés
2. And pál|*m*èrs | to sech|e stróng|*ë* stróndes
   to ser|ven hal|owes couthe | in son|dry landes
7. And spec|*ial*ly | from ev|ry shy|res ende
2, 8. Of Éng|*lànde* | to Can|terbury | they wende.

The numbers refer to the rules which he derived from a study of these lines.

1. Weak syllable omitted after the cæsura.
2. Two strong syllables without intervening weak syllable : "pércèd," l. 2, "pálmèrs," l. 10, Énglànde, l. 13.
3. Syllabic "e" required in sotë, yongë.
4. Plural ending -es, syllabic.
5. An octosyllabic line with weak syllable "en" slurred before weak syllable.
6. Verbal ending -eth slurred within the verse.

7. Slurring of vowels in juxtaposition "go͡on."
8. Slurring of weak syllable "-ur" before following weak syllable in "bu͡ry."

The first few lines of the 1526 Chaucer furnish eight rules, which Wyatt frequently made use of in his versification. This is encouraging. Wyatt certainly appears to have copied Chaucer's versification, but before deciding, it is necessary to classify all Wyatt's rules of versification, in order to find out whether we are justified in considering Chaucer his model.

Wyatt's rules of verse may be classified as follows—

(*a*) Inverted stress of the first foot.

Cóver|ing his gladness did represent
Léve to | conspire agaynst me wrongfully
Lóve and | fortúne and my mynde remembr
Lyveth | in rest | still in | displë|asure
Nóli|me tan|gere | for Ce|sars I͡am
Líke to | these unmesurable montaynes.

Examples from *Chaucer*. Ed. 1526—

Wíde was | his pár|isshe || and hous|es far | asonder. (Parson.)
Tróuth and | honóur || fredóm and cúrtesý. (Knight.)

(*b*) Strong stress for the first foot.

Ás|sured by craft to͡excuse thy fault
For | after the blast as is no wound|er
un|der crag|gy rockes || they have | full bar|ren playnes.

Examples from *Chaucer*—

Hóte | he was || (Somonour)
Lȳke | a staffe || ther nys no calfe ysene. (Reve.)
That | had led of dunge many͡a fodèr. (Plowman.)

(*c*) Strong stress after the cæsura.

So that with tery yen || swólne and instable
Thy vertus to let || thóugh that frowardnes
What webbes he hath wrought || wéll he perceveth
The sea waterless || físshe in the montayne
Blynded with the stroke || érryng here and there
Lyveth at rest || stíll in|displë|asur.

Examples from *Chaucer*—

Ne of his techynge || dáun|gerous ne digne. (Parson.)
And at a knight || first|I wol begin. (Prol.)
That if golde rust || whát shulde yren do. (Parson).
In fellowshypp || cóuld | she láugh | and crýe. (W. of B.)
Besyde | a grove || stánd|yng in a dale. (T. of Nonnes Pr.)

In examples (*c*) there is sometimes a compensatory weak syllable *before* the cæsura, but it is more often omitted.

(*d*) Extra weak syllable before cæsura with full complement of syllables after the cæsura.

I fede | me in sor(owe) || and thús | I hate myself.
In frós(en) || tho nów and nów || it stóndeth in flame.

Examples from *Chaucer*—

By goód ensámp(*le*) || *th*is wás | his busyness. (Parson.)
This nóble ensám(*ple*) || *un*to his shepe he gave. (Parson.)
He wás a shép(*herd*) || *and* nót a mércenary. (Parson.)

(*e*) Trisyllabic feet are very common in Wyatt's verse, they are found in the first, second, fourth, and fifth foot.

First Foot—

Ĭ dĕsiré | to perísshe || and thus I hate myself
Of fŏrtúne | me holdeth ||
Of thăt rést|les birdes ||

Examples from *Chaucer*—

Ŏthĕr wíth | a bro|therheed || to be with-holde. (Parson.)
Hĕ wăs nát | to synful men to dispitous. (Ibid.)

Second Foot—

Rejoyce || lĕt mĕ dréme || of your felicitie
Wherby | ĭf Ĭ láught || any time or season
Are cause | thăt bў lóve || I | myself destroy
The spryte | ŏf cŏmfórt || in him revyvid is.

Example from *Chaucer*—

This wi|dŏwe ŏf which || I tell you in my tale. (T. of N. Pr.)

Third or fourth foot—

(*e* 3) And where it was at wisshe || it cŏuld nót | remayne.

Example from *Chaucer* (third foot)—

Of Áristót(le) || ănd ŏf hís | philosophye. (Cl. of O.)

Fifth foot—

(*e* 4) Twixt mi|sery | and welth || twixt ér|*nĕst ănd gáme.*
Próferd yóu myn hért || but you | *dŏ nŏt úse.*

NOTE.—This is not to be confused with the hendecasyllable verse. Chaucer often employs a hendecasyllable (extra weak syllable at the end of the line), but we never find a trisyllable, with the strong accent on the last syllable. Therefore Wyatt has no authority in Chaucer for this freedom; from other examples he has extended the use of the trisyllable to the fifth foot.

(*f*) Slurring takes place with weak syllables ending in r, l, n, when followed by another weak syllable; *Enemy* is dissyllabic.

For ín év|ery cás to kepë still oon guise
Or éls in | my sparkling voyce lower or higher
And wéne | to play ín | it as | they do pretend
His cruéll | despyte | for to disgorge and quite
I love | an othr | and thus I hate myself.

Examples from *Chaucer*—

He way|ted af|tér no pompe | ne reverence. (Parson.)
As brode | as it were | a bok|*elér or* | a targe. (W. of B.)
A reve ther was a slender co|lerike man | (Reve.)
A swerde and a bok|elér bare | he by his syde. (Miller.)
And ev|er he rode | the hindmost of the route. (Reve.)
This no|blé ensamp(le) || unto his shepe he gave. (Parson.)

An extension of rule (*f*) occurs with the words spirit, cruel, heven, containing a weak syllable in r, l, n, respectively, always regarded as monosyllabic when followed by a weak syllable; occasionally "cruell" is dissyllabic when the metre requires it; it will then be found that a strong syllable follows—

Example—

As cru|ęll cause | that did the sperĭtt son hast.
For sure I fele | my spryte | doth faynt apace
His cruęll | dispyte for to disgorge and quite.
Thevyn it | would lo and eke her chaunce was so.

(The verbal ending -eth is usually slurred in the body of the verse.)

(*g*) The termination -ayn in words such as rayn, fayn, is often dissyllabic, and plëasure in one instance has three syllables.

Examples—

If amours faith an hert unfaÿnèd—
If long error in a blynde way chaïnèd—
Whereby with himself on love he plaÿnèth
With faynèd visage now sad now mery
Liveth at rest still in displeasur.

" Rayned " is monosyllabic in one line—

Be rayned | by rea|son shame | and reverence.

When " cruell," " rayned," are monosyllabic, we find certain indicatory marks in Wyatt's hand in the E MS.

Examples from *Chaucer*—

And ren|në to | Londoun | to së|int Póules
And se|ke him | a chaun|terye | for sóules. (Parson.)
Hir gre|test o|thë was | by Se|ĭnt Loy (Prioresse).

A parallel to displëasur is found in the following line of *Chaucer*—

[1] Ne crë|ature | that of|hem mak|ed is. (W. of B.)

(*h*) Verbal ending -eth is usually slurred in the body of the verse : an extension of this rule includes " hath " and " with " at times—

So cháunceth it óft that évery pas|sion
That fédeth him with my cáre and misery.

[1] Crëature is often a trisyllable in *Chaucer*. (See Skeat's edition.)

Example from *Chaucer*—

So prícketh hem ná|ture in | her córages.

Extension of rule—

What webbes | he hath wrought || well | he per|ceveth |
Wherby with | himself | on love | he pla|ÿneth.

In the first case " h " is regarded as no letter; in the second case " w " has vocal force.

(*i*) Slurring of vowels in juxtaposition. " y " is regarded as a vowel, and " h " as no letter.

In the first foot—

And I al|wayes playntes | that passe | thorough | my throte
To uttér the smart that I suffér within.

In the second foot—

I fede | mein sór(owe) || and láugh in áll my páyne
What wébbes | he hath wrought || well | he per|ceveth.

In the third foot—

And fýnde | the cón|trary of it | that they | intend.
If thou O Lord | do observe | (Psalms).

In the fourth foot—

With few | glad || and ma|ny a div|ers thought.

In the fifth foot—

Twene rock | and rock | and eke | myne en|emy alás |

There is double slurring in some of these examples; enemy is dissyllabic and final " y " is slurred with following " a."

Example from *Chaucer*—

Then lóng|en fólke | to go on || pilgrím|agés.

This is Wyatt's probable reading of the line, and so he finds support in Chaucer for slurring. It is a marked feature of Wyatt's verse, and must be attributed to his

knowledge of Italian verse, where the slurring of vowels is the basis of scansion; from this example in Chaucer he considered that he was justified in following the Romance method of slurring vowels.

As a consequence of Wyatt's system of slurring vowels, hiatus is very rare—

Yĕ old | múle that thinck | yourself | so faire.

Ĭ dĕsíre | to perisshe ‖ and yet | *I ask*|ë helth.

(*k*) Wyatt avoids syncopation; it is not found except in the words "ton," "tothr"; and "thevyn" (t'hevyn) occurs *once* in the Satire "My mothers maydes."

"Thevyn it | would lo | and eke her chaunce was so."

Slurring is used instead of syncopation with the first personal pronoun singular followed by have, wot, will, would, and the infinitive "to have" is included in this rule.

Ĭ will not | yet in | my grave | be bur|ied.

And Ĭ ame | not of | such man|er con|dition.

Ĭ would have | offèrd | unto | the sa|crifice.

But if the pronoun "I" follow the verb, it is usually regarded as a syllable—

To the | havĕ Ĭ cálled | O Lord to be my borow.

In this case the second foot is a trisyllable.

(*l*) Two stressed syllables without an intervening weak syllable is a favourite device in Wyatt. It occurs in the first and second, and the fourth and fifth foot—Examples in first and second—

Behólde | lóve
And scápe | fórth
Unkýnd | tónge
But féw | glád
The lónge | lóve

Examples in fourth and fifth foot—

: that erst | for fére | shòok
: and yet | I áske | hèlth.

Examples in *Chaucer* of two strong stresses—

And pálm|èrs | to seche stronge strondes
And thér | with | he brought us out of toun
In Sóut|wèrk | at tabard as I lay.

It is also found in the third and fourth foot—

Make mor|trewes ‖ and wéll | bàke | a pie.

In some of these instances in Wyatt there is a time pause marked by the presence of a final " e " which would be sounded if the words were sung; there is no means of finding out whether this were intentional; however, we do know that the Songs and the Rondeaus were written to be sung; the final " e " marks a pause, as a rest in music; in the other cases, the long accent was regarded as a dotted note to be prolonged for the full complement of time to fill out the bar. The examples from Chaucer gave Wyatt a precedent, and the fact that there is no final " e " between the two strong-stressed syllables in the examples from the Prologue inclines to a conclusion that in these instances Wyatt's use of final " e " is merely orthographical.

It should be noted that Wyatt certainly meant a pause after " Beholde love," " The longe love," and the other examples, for he has marked the cæsura in some of these instances; the line was *not* meant to be read " The longe love that . . .," as all Wyatt's critics have done in describing his methods of verse. Prof. Saintsbury, in particular, reads " The long love " Sonnet in a way which is utterly at variance with the metrical scheme as seen in the E MS. (See the specimen Sonnet in Appendix D, " The Long Love.")

(*m*) Lines occur in Wyatt which are quite regular if *a final* " *e* " or plural termination -es is regarded as syllabic—

Are causë that by love myself I destroy
To hast to slack my pass-ë lesse or more
And onëly my loke declareth my hert
But sins that I so kyndëly am servid.
And will that my trust and lustës negligens.

Example from *Chaucer*—

To drawë folke to heven with *fayr*ënesse.

Copious examples are to be found in the 1526 edition, in spite of the omission of the final " e " in many cases.

(*n*) An occasional Alexandrine or octosyllabic line occurs in poems written in the five-stressed line—

Who may the hold thy hert || but thou thyself unbynde
Though othr be present || thou art not all behynde
Of tyme | trouthe | and love || to save the from offence
But dayly yet the ill || doeth change into the wourse
The sonnë bemes | to turne || with so gret vehemence
Which comfortëth | the mynde || that erst | for fere | shoke.

Example from *Chaucer*—

Upon | an am|buler || full ea|sely | she sat.

One rondeau, " What vaileth truth," begins in a verse of five stresses, and concludes in octosyllabic verse.

The epigram, " Ryght true it is," concludes with an octosyllabic verse, " That with the blase his berd syngeth."

The 1526 edition of Chaucer has many examples of octosyllabic lines in the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*—

Full big he was of braune and bones
His nostrylles blackë were and wyde (Miller).
And eke ye know well that a jay (Somnour).
God loved he beste with all his herte (Parson).

(*o*) The cæsura is carefully marked after the fourth syllable in Wyatt's early verse in the E MS.—

Beholde love :
Go burning sighes :
Right true it is :
O small hony :
O lost servis :

(Wyatt's cæsura mark is a colon.)

Many examples of this cæsura occur in the first few lines of the Prologue—

When that Aprill //
The drought of March //
Enspyred hath //
Hath in the Ram. //

Experience in versification led to greater freedom in the use of the cæsura; it is found after the third foot, and after the first foot. Occasionally a very harsh effect is produced by a cæsura placed in the middle of a ten-syllable line; this is avoided in Wyatt's later poems.

Cæsura after the third foot—

Or͡els in | my spark|ling voyce || lower or higher.

Cæsura after the first foot—

(1) At last || both eche for himself concluded.
(2) Rejoyce || let me dreme || of thy felicitie.
(3) In fros(en) || tho nowe and nowe || it stondeth in flame.

In the last two examples there is a second pause less marked, after the second and the third foot respectively.

Cæsura after the fifth syllable—

Ís | my paýn|ful lúff || the búr|den͡ of íre.
So | call I | for help || I not when | nor where
It is | ăs ĭn dréme || un|perfaict | and lame.

Examples in *Chaucer*—

His berdë is shave || as nigh as he can. (Reve.)
Out of the gospell || the wordes he caught. (Parson.)

(*p*) *Enjambement* or overflow of the line—

The later style of Wyatt's versification is marked by the overflow of the line. Alscher [1] has worked this out thoroughly and finds that the subject is divided from the predicate, the predicate from the object, or the predicate from the extension, by enjambement—

And therwithall I alway in the lash
Abyd the stroke: and with me everywher
I bere my fawte. (Psalms.)

[1] *Sir Thomas Wyatt und seine Stellung* . . . Alscher.

Examples from the Psalms—

(*a*) He then inflamed with far more hote effect
Of God . . .

(*b*) Oh Happy are they that have forgiffnes gott
Of their offence . . .

(*c*) Shamid be they all that so ly in whaite
To compas me . . .

Examples from the Satires—

(*a*) Use vertue as it goeth now a dayes so
In wordes alone to make thy language swete . .

(*b*) By which retorn be sure to wyn a kant
Of half at leste . . .

(*c*) Under a stole she spied two stemying Ise
In a rownde hed . . .

(*d*) And say that Favell hath a goodly grace
In eloquence, and crueltye to name
Zele of justice . . .

Examples from *Chaucer*—

The bright sonne
The ark of the artificial day had ronne
The fourth part . . . (Prol., Man of Lawes Tale.)
And that my might be worthy to serve
Thy godhed . . . (Knightes Tale.)
Chaste goddess || wel wotest thou that I
Desire to be a mayden all my life . . . (Kn. T.)

Such is Wyatt's system of verse. Corresponding examples are found in the 1526 edition of Chaucer. Even in the matter of slurring vowels, very largely used by him, and certainly derived from his Italian studies, he finds an instance in Chaucer " to go͡on pilgrímagés." No doubt many critics will not admit such a reading of this line, but it is quite evident that Wyatt read it thus to rhyme with the preceding line, " her cór|agés." Again, the 1526 edition supplies several instances of trisyllabic feet, excepting in the fifth foot. Wyatt, finding support in Chaucer for trisyllables within the line, extended the privilege to the last foot. These are the only two instances that can be called in question. An investigation of the Prologue (1526 edition) which has

afforded the examples in the scheme of versification above, proves beyond a doubt that Chaucer was Wyatt's model at the time that he was working with Petrarch for his master, both in form and matter. The most striking proof is the resolution of eight of Wyatt's rules from the first few lines of the Prologue. It also shows us that Dryden was justified in his remarks on Chaucer's metre.

It would be absurd to argue from the likeness of the rhyme, or the language, or the archaic spelling alone, but when we find that the rhyming system, the spelling, grammatical endings, and archaisms follow Chaucer, and when the versification shows itself to be entirely built upon the 1526 edition of Chaucer, there can be no further doubt of the matter. Wyatt deliberately and conscientiously studied Chaucer with a view of carrying on his method of work, and made his exercise in versification parallel with his introduction of the Petrarchan Sonnet.

Paradoxical as it may seem to those who only know Chaucer's smooth, regular, flowing system of verse, from Skeat, or the Globe edition, and who know Wyatt only from Tottel's edition, Wyatt does stand revealed, deliberately following Chaucer's teaching in verse and endeavouring to find a system in the faulty text of Pynson's edition : he found there many good decasyllabic lines, he found also a variety of rules that sprang in some cases from the omission of the syllabic " e." On the other hand, the slurring of weak syllables ending in vowel-likes r, l, n, and the slurring of vowels, were not only rules in Chaucer's prosodic system (and consequently lie apart from irregularities gleaned from a faulty text), but were rules on which the system of Milton's blank verse was based. It is a noteworthy fact that the finest and strongest work has been achieved by Milton and Shakespeare through the slurring of certain weak syllables, inverted stress on the first foot, and in majestic periods achieved by the overflow of the line; in Shakespeare, too,

strong effects are produced by the presence of two strong stresses without an intervening weak stress. Wyatt was the first writer of modern verse to allow such freedom, though he applied it to rhyme, while Milton and Shakespeare confined their usage to blank verse. The sonnet was the worst possible form for Wyatt's earliest examples in this system of versification, but the very nature of the sonnet, with its limitations, was the best means of gaining experience, and Wyatt would never have gained the freedom and the skill in his satires without his preliminary exercises in the sonnet.

Since Chaucer's connection with Wyatt is established—and the proofs are too many to be sceptical about it—we can no longer regard Wyatt as the solitary figure working in the dark, and groping in ignorance towards a solution of the difficulties of the ten-syllable line; his course was tentative, the achievement was difficult, but the model lay before him in the 1526 edition of Chaucer. Therefore, Wyatt, as the product of a new age, of the new learning and of Neoplatonism, had his roots firmly fixed in the past. He had new things to say, and a new form in which to express these new utterances, but he turned to the great national poet for assistance in the task. Little did Chaucer think when he translated Petrarch's eighty-eighth Sonnet (Troilus and Cressida, l. 400–420)—

> S'Amor non è che dunque e quel ch'isento ?
> Ma s'egli è amor, per Dio, che cosa e quale ?

or when he met him at Padua (?), that before thirteen decades had passed away another English poet should arise, largely influenced, as Chaucer was, by French and Italian writers, one destined to combine the form and rime of Petrarch with Chaucer's versification, and so unite in his poetry in the early sixteenth century the two greatest poets of the fourteenth century.

VII

CHAUCERIAN INFLUENCE

THE years of Wyatt's apprenticeship in the ten-syllable line were passed at Calais 1528–32. He translated Petrarch and used Chaucer as a model for his verse. Later, distinct Chaucerian influence is to be traced in his poems.

In 1532 Thynne's edition of Chaucer was published; it professed to be a complete edition. Pynson and Thynne both ascribed poems to Chaucer which are now rejected. The 1526 [1] edition contained, among other poems, "La Belle Dame sans Merci" [1] and "Dido's letter to Eneas" (Prologue and Playnte).

The 1532 edition included "La Belle Dame" with a different envoy from that in 1526, the "Ballade of Fortune," "How Pitie is ded and buried in a gentil hert," besides the "Boethius," "Legend of Good Women," and other authentic poems.

The 1532 edition was well read by the Court. Surrey derived his inspiration from it; verses from "La Belle Dame" are written in the D MS., and there are lines and phrases in Wyatt which suggest a knowledge of the poems in Thynne's edition.

"La Belle Dame" is the ultimate source of Wyatt's duologue. "It burneth yet alas my hertes desyre"; although he possibly owes something to Mellin de St. Gelais' rendering of the same theme. "La Belle Dame" is a dull thing—a translation of Alain Chartier's poem; it was ascribed to Chaucer, but is now said to be the work of Richard Ros.

[1] Skeat refers to the later (1532) edition in his *Works of Chaucer*.

Wyatt's poem is full of feeling and its restraint makes it a thing of beauty.

There are lines in Dido's letter [1] which may be compared with Wyatt—

Prologue: Much better it were to have good contenaunce . . .
That *folke perceyve not* your grefe and hevines.

In the poem " Patiens for my devyce " the line occurs—

Let no man know your payne

The " Complaynte " begins—

Ryght as the swanne when her deth is nygh . . .

One of the lyrics (D MS.) begins—

Lyke as the swanne towardis her deth . . .

The phrase " alas, alas, the while," occurs in the " Amorous Complaynte." The title may have suggested Wyatt's poem which may be called an Amorous Complaynte (E MS.) beginning—

Ther was never nothyng more me payned.

In this poem the refrain to every quatrain is " Alas the whyle."

The "Playnte to Fortune" [2] is a duologue between Fortune and Pleintif. Pleintif bemoans his wretchedness, Fortune replies—

No man is wretched but himself it wene
He that hath himself hath sufficaunce
And eke thou hast thy best friend on lyve.

This " Playnte " is evidently the source of Wyatt's poem " Most wretched hert," a duologue between the two inner voices. The burden of the first voice is—

Most wretched hert why art though not ded.

The burden of the second voice is—

And he is wretched that wenes him so.

The verses run alternately with the burden of the first and second voice, as a refrain to every quatrain.

[1] 1526 edition. [2] 1532 edition.

L'Envoy (1532 edition) contains the following lines—

> Better is to suffer and *fortune abide*
> Than hastily to clime and sodenly to slyde.

This couplet probably influenced Wyatt's poem (D MS.)—

> I abide and abide and better abide
> And after the old proverbe the happie day
> And ever *my lady* to me doeth say
> Let me alone and I will provyde.

Fortune is personified in this, and several other of Wyatt's poems, as " My lady."

" *Agaynst Women Unconstant* " (1532 edition) contains the line—

> Madame for your new fangilnes
> I take my leve for your unstedefastness. . . .

Wyatt, in the poem " They flee from me," says—

> And I have leve to go of her goodenes
> And she also to use newfangilnes.

The " Knightes Tale " offers several parallels—

A rare form of the preterite of the M.E. verb " schrichen " is found in the line—

> Shrighte Emelye and howleth Palamon.

Wyatt uses it as an infinitive and as a verbal substantive.

> (1) And you so reddy sighes to make me shrighte.
> (Sonnet, Bicause I have.)
>
> (2) With dedly shrighte and cry.
> (Myne owne dere enemy.)

References to May in the " Knightes Tale " and in the *Troilus* are imitated by Wyatt—

> In a mornyng of May
> She was arisen and all redy dight
> For May will have *no slogardë* anyght.

Wyatt writes—

> Arise for shame do way *your slogardy*
> Arise I say do May some observaunce.

Cf. also lines from *Troilus and Cressida*—

> Do wey your bok, rys up and lat us daunce
> And let us don *to May some observaunce.*

The conceit of the heart wounded by a glance through the eye is found in the "Knightes Tale," but, it must be added, this idea is ubiquitous—

> (1) This Palamon answered . . .
> But I was hurt nowe through myn eye
> Unto myn herte . . .

and aga'n—

> Ye slee me with your eyen Emely.

Wyatt's poem—

> So unwarely was never no man cawght." (D MS.)

re-echoes the idea—

> Thorow my eyes the strocke from hyers did slyde
> Dyrectly down unto my hert ytt ranne.

This conceit can be traced to a Provençal source. It made its way into Italy, and is found in all the Petrarchists. Chrestien de Troyes seems to have first used it in France.

2. Again—

> It stycked thorough my careful herte
> That shapen was erst my deth *then my sherte.* (Kn. T.)

Cf. Wyatt—

> Alas the greffe the dedly woful smert
> The careful *chaunce shapen afore my sherte.*

Troilus and Cressida—

The invocation of Cithera is echoed in Wyatt's poem, "Though this port"—

> O Love, O Charitë
> Thy moder eke, *Citherea the* swete
> After thyself next heriëd be she
> Venus *mene I the wel-willy planete.* (Tr. III. 1254–7.)

Wyatt's lines run—

> Though this (the) port and I thy servaunt true
> And thou thyself dost cast thy bemes from hye

From thy chieff howse promising to renew
Boeth joy and eke delite behold yet how that I
Banished from my blisse carefully do crye
Helpe now *Citherea,* my lady dere.

Courthope (*Hist. of Engl. Lit.*) quotes many more expressions in Wyatt traceable to *Troilus and Cressida.*

Wyatt's use of the word "stemyng" is taken from Chaucer—

Hise eyen stepe and rollyng in his hed
That *stemed as* a forneys of a led. (Monk.)

The cat is described in the satire, "My Mothers Maydes," with—

. . . two *stemyng* eyes
In a round head.

This word sorely puzzled Nott; he suggests streaming! Selden proposed "staring."

The language and the humorous tone throughout "My Mothers Maydes" suggest Chaucerian influence; there are, moreover, direct allusions to Chaucer—

Praise Sir Thopas for a noble tale
And scorn the story that the knight tolde.
(Myn own John Poynz.)

Allusion to Pandarus—

But ware I say so golde the helpe and sped
That in this case thou be not so unwise
As Pandare was in such a like dede.
(A spending hand.)

Wyatt knew the Boethius—

for swin so groyns
And drivell in perilles the hed still in the manger
Then *of the harp the* asse to hed the sound.

Cf. Boethius, prose 4—

Artow like an asse to the harpe?

The second line of the epigram—

Tagus farewell that westward with thy stremes
Torns up *the grayns of gold alredy* tryd—

is derived from Boethius, Metrum 10.

All the thinges that the river *Tagus gyveth you with his goldene gravelis.*

One poem only appears to be *entirely* founded on Chaucer—

If thou wilt mighty be fle from the rage—

but it is one of Wyatt's latest works, and may either be adapted from Chaucer or translated from the Latin original. It consists of three stanzas—

The first is from the Metrum 5 Boethius III,
the second is from the Metrum 6 Boethius III,
the third is from the Metrum 3 Boethius III.

	Wyatt.	*Chaucer's Translation.*
(1)	If thow wilt mighty be flee from the rage	Who so wol ben myghtie he
	Of cruel will . . .	most daunten his cruel corages . .
(2)	If to be noble and high thy mind be moved	All the lynage of men that ben in erth . . .
	Consider well . . . thy beginning	
(3)	All were it so thou had a flode of gold . . .	All were it so that a rich covetous man . . .

Latin Boethius.

(1) Qui se volet esse potentem
Animas domat | ille feroces . . .

(2) Omne hominis genus in terris
Simili surgit ab ortu . . .

(3) Quamvis fluente divis auri gurgiti . . .

French Sources of Wyatt's Poems.

The following French sources have been found for the first time.

Rondeaus— For to love her . . . If it be so . . . Thou hast no faith . . .	*Rondeaux—* D'estre amoureux. (*Clement Marot.*) S'il est ainsy ,, ,, cf. Amor et Foi ,, ,,
Douzaine— Madame withouten | maney wordes ;	*Douzaine—* S'amour vous a donné un cueur en gage. (*St. Gelais.*)
A New Year's Gift— To seke eche where | where man doeth live ;	*Etrenne—* Ce nouvel an pour etrenne vous donne. (*Clément Marot.*)
Duologue— It burneth yet alas my | herts desire ;	*Duologue—* Me veuillez Madame la peine ignorer Que ma vraie flamme vous veult declarer. (*Mellin de St. Gelais.*)
Epigram— Desyre alas my maister | and my foo.	*Dizaine—* Tant est nature en volanté puissante. (*Maurice Sève.*)

CHAPTER VIII

FRENCH INFLUENCE

IT is difficult to trace French influence to a definite source, for this reason : Italy was the fountain head of all inspiration in the early and mid-sixteenth century, and we therefore expect to trace to a common Italian source the likenesses that appear in English and French poems; yet it must be remembered that in England, as also in France, Italian influence was felt in every direction of life before it was perceptible in Literature.[1] The early years of the sixteenth century saw Italian Secretaries at Court; Italian tutors in noblemen's houses, and Italian scholars at the universities; Italians, too, taught riding and general etiquette as well as inculcating morals, while Italian influence swayed commerce.

Meanwhile Skelton, the Court poet, wrote rhymes which were " ragged, tattered, and jagged," and showed no signs of a new influence. Wyatt, coming to Court in the second decade of the sixteenth century, speedily made himself the leader of a band of courtiers, versifiers, and composers of Court songs, which merely carried on the traditions of the fifteenth century.

In France, Marot and Mellin de St. Gelais used mediæval forms, such as the Rondeau and Ballad—forms which, a quarter of a century later, were to be swept aside when the clarion notes of Du Bellay's *Défense* resounded through the land.

" Laissez," he said, " les rondeaux, virelais, chansons, ballades, et autres épiceries et jette toi aux odes, epistres,

[1] *Italian Renaissance in England.* Einstein.

satires . . . et sonnets selon Petrarch et quelques modernes Italiens." These words heralded the reign of the Pléiade, and the poems of Marot and St. Gelais were consigned to oblivion. But signs of Italian influence appear in their late work; and the question is still undecided whether these French poets or Wyatt first showed Italian influence. While most critics believe that Italian influence is later in France, an absence of definite facts has led to such literary controversies as the theory that St. Gelais translated into French Wyatt's *English* rendering of Sannazaro's sonnet, "Simile a questi smisurati monti."

Now Prof. Koeppel, in 1891, traced the source of Wyatt's sonnet, "Like to these immeasurable montaynes," to St. Gelais' version, "Voyant ces monts" (*Anglia*, xiii); but in 1902 (*Modern Language Quarterly*, vol. v) Arthur Tilley discovered Sannazaro's Italian source. Literary critics, ignorant of Tilley's discovery, still regarded the French version as the source, and Child (*Cambridge History of Literature*, 1909), Courthope, and Padelford, all name the French version as the source. A comparison of the three versions shows that Wyatt's translation is undoubtedly a version of the Italian, so that the "originality" hitherto imputed to him in differing from the French version is now seen merely to be a closer adherence to the Italian.

Mr. Padelford (1907), still unaware of the real source, had his doubts about the French version, for he made this remark in his notes on the above sonnet (*Sixteenth Century Lyrics*): "Did Wyatt imitate this French sonnet, or did St. Gelais imitate Wyatt, or did they both translate from a common original?"

Berdan, acting upon this suggestion, set forth his theories in *Modern Language Notes*, 1908, where he discussed the "Migrations of a Sonnet," and mapped out the genealogy of the sonnet in question; it may briefly be set forth as follows—

Sonetto	Sannazaro	" Simile a questi."
	↓	↓
Sonnet	Wyatt	" Like to those."
	↓	↓
Sonnet	St. Gelais	" Voyant ces monts."
	↓	↓
Madrigal	Barnes	" Like to these mountains."

A long discussion followed between Mr. Berdan and Mr. L. E. Kastner (*Modern Language Review*, 1909), but the only definite result is the narrowing of the date of St. Gelais' sonnet from 1536 to a possible 1531, and the proving that it is most unsafe ground to regard any French version as a translation of an English version in the sixteenth century.

It is important to find some definite facts which may have turned the attention of the French poets towards the sonnet form, and a clue may, I think, be found in the poet Alamanni, the Florentine exile. In 1530 he was exiled a second time from Florence and appeared at the French Court. A recent life of Alamanni[1] shows that his first exile in France was passed in obscurity and poverty, and that Francis I, probably from political motives, took no notice of him.

In 1530 circumstances had altered. Foreign relations were less strained, Alamanni approached the King with an offering of Italian sonnets,[2] dedicated to Francis I, and setting forth his glory. The King accepted them and became Alamanni's patron, and from 1530 until his death in 1556, except for one short interval, his life was bound up in French interests, and at times he undertook no unimportant part in French affairs.

[1] *Un exile florentin à la cour de France.* H. Hauvette. 1903.

[2] Luigi Alamanni presented a medal of Cellini's workmanship at the same time. Cellini says, "The medal came into the hands of *Messer Luigi Alamanni*, who after a little time took it to present in person to Francis, King of France, *accompanied by some of his finest compositions.* The king was exceedingly delighted." (See Cellini's *Autobiography*, Lib. I, xliv. J. A. Symond's Trans., 1888.)

The presence of Alamanni at Court, the publication of his poems (1532–3) under the King's patronage and by means of his pecuniary help, and their dedication to the royal patron, were bound to have an effect upon the French Court poets. As good courtiers they studied the King's pleasure, and his evident interest in Alamanni's poems was undoubtedly one of the causes which resulted in translations of Italian sonnets by Marot and St. Gelais. Sannazaro's poems were published in 1531, many editions followed, but in this and the 1533 Florentine edition, Part III was included, containing the "Simile a questi" sonnet, which was omitted in many editions. St. Gelais translated this sonnet, and it is interesting to note that when he allowed a few of his poems to be printed in 1549, this translated sonnet was the only poem in sonnet form. Meanwhile, except for a short visit to the Court at Blois in 1533, Marot was in disgrace and in forced retirement until 1536.

In the interval he spent some time at Lyons with his young friend Maurice Sève, a rising poet, who gathered round him a group of followers, and formed a coterie known as the "Ecole Lyonais," whence sprang the Pléiade. Studying at Avignon in 1533, Maurice Sève had found the supposed tomb of Petrarch's Laura in a convent of the Cordeliers. A keen follower of Petrarch and a nature dreamer, he wrote a series of symbolical poems called *Délie*, in which he set forth certain aspects of nature as analogous to his own states of consciousness. Marot, coming into contact with Maurice Sève, no doubt caught some of the enthusiasm of this earnest student of Petrarch, an enthusiasm which afterwards found vent in his poem to Laura. He also had opportunities of studying Art and Italian Literature at Venice, but he was not happy in his exile, and earnest entreaties to the Dauphin at length procured his pardon and he returned to Court in 1536. Lines such as the following were probably the cause of his pardon,

and show that he was capable of a degree of tenderness rarely discernible in his poetry.

> Ce que je quiers et que de vous j'espere
> C'est qui il vous plaise au roi, votre chere père
> Parler pour moi . . .
> Non pour aller visiter mes chateaux
> Mais bien pour voir mes petits *marotteaux.*
> (Epistle to the Dauphin.)

For seven years (1536–43) Marot enjoyed the King's favour and protection. Contact with Sève, the ardent Petrarchist; [1] the presence of Alamanni at Court, and the King's pleasure in his sonnets and other poems, were the causes that made him turn to Italian forms. He translated six sonnets of Petrarch, and the Vision; he composed an elegy on Laura, and in 1539 wrote the famous "Pan et Robin" eclogue to the King. St. Gelais, too, translated Petrarch and Ariosto and wrote numerous sonnets.

There are, then, many reasons to explain why Marot and St. Gelais turned their attention to Italian forms during the years 1530 to 1540.

In 1539 Marot translated the Psalms. He presented them to the Emperor in 1540; they were the cause of his second exile, and he died in 1544.

As far as Marot is concerned, direct Italian influence is traced between the years 1533–40, and with St. Gelais not earlier than 1531 (the date of the publication of a complete edition of Sannazaro's works); but St. Gelais never took the initiative, and it is likely that he waited until Marot's

[1] It has been inferred that because Sève wrote in dizaines, and not in sonnet form, ⟨that⟩ he had escaped Petrarchan influence. There is no doubt that he was an ardent Petrarchist, but his particular and uncommon genius preferred a certain type of verse. It was the age of independent and original work, his *Délie* was published at the time when Cellini was proving new possibilities in goldsmith craft, and Michael Angelo was expressing all the height and breadth of his thought in terms of the human body.

return to Court before venturing on new forms. There is no trace of deliberate attention to Italian models before Alamanni's appearance in 1530. Slight Italianisms in St. Gelais' writing are due to his youthful studies in Italy, but Marot was always his master, whom he followed in his taste for mediæval forms, and light, graceful, and witty verse.

Both French writers made their mark in writing sparkling little songs or witty *tours de force* on every conceivable trivial subject. Marot, in that light mocking style which can only be defined as *esprit gaulois*, is inimitable in his epigrams and etrennes. The mediæval forms of their verse were scorned by Ronsard and the other members of the Pléiade, for although in late years they attempted the sonnet form and translated Petrarch and other "modernes Italians," they entirely missed the contemplative spirit, and the visions of Love and Beauty seen through the medium of nature. Neither had they expressed the great thoughts of the ancients; they retained their mediæval stock in trade to the end, only giving examples of Italian forms to please a new fashion but not breaking with the old. Marot and St. Gelais were, in fact, conscious that they excelled and were able to please in these old forms; exercises in the new Italian style were tentative, and they both preferred to be masters in their own art than simply scholars in a new. So they showed that they were conscious of the new fashion by contributing sonnets, but the Petrarchan spirit is absent until the rise of the Pléiade.

Italian influence is to be seen in Marot and St. Gelais after the year 1530. Wyatt came into contact with them *prior to this date*, and therefore any influence traceable to the poets may be considered purely French. Wyatt joined Sir Thomas Cheney's Embassy to France in 1526. Marot was Gentleman of the Chamber to the King. Mellin de St. Gelais possessed a sweet voice, and played the lute per-

fectly. Many years later Du Bellay described his poems as—

> Vers emmeillers
> Qu' aussi doux que ton voix coulent.

Wyatt was a musician and peculiarly sensitive to refrains, and he carried away with him snatches of these French songs and rondeaus. Marot's poems circulated in MS., and in 1529 [1] a few were published for the first time, and amongst these occur poems which are reproduced in some of Wyatt's rondeaus. Mellin de St. Gelais did not allow his poems to circulate; it was not until 1549 that he sanctioned the publication of a few of his poems; among these the only sonnet is the translation of Sannazaro's "Simile a questi."

French influence in Wyatt is due to contact with lively, witty, and musical poets, personages after his own heart, and the names in which French refrains and ideas occur in his rondeaus and other pieces suggest memory and not translation; this view is borne out by the facts of their publications noted above.

Wyatt wrote nine rondeaus, the first about 1526 (D MS.), the last 1532–3 (E MS.). Seven rondeaus occur on the first few pages of the E MS., and were written about 1528 and onwards, in the intervals of more severe labour with the sonnet form. Two of these, "Go burning sighes," and "Behold Love," are translations from Petrarch, the other five suggest French influence; they are as follows—

(1) Help me to seke.
(2) What vaileth troth.
(3) For to love her.
(4) Thou hast no faith.
(5) If it be so.

The theme of the first is a lost heart, and is found constantly among the chansons of Marot and St. Gelais. It is a very bright little poem, and Wyatt seems to have written

[1] Adolescence Clementine. 1529. Brit. Mus.

it in a mocking spirit, as a reflection on all the poems of hearts gone astray; there is a noticeable play upon words, too—

> It was my *hert*, I pray you *hertely*
> Help me to seke.

This rondeau is a metrical experiment, and consists of a combination of two-syllable with three-syllable feet, resulting in a light,[1] tripping style, which harmonizes with the humorous spirit of the rondeau.

The idea of "What vaileth troth" is also found in many of the chansons. "For to love her" is clearly a reminiscence of Marot's rondeau, "D'estre Amoureux (Rondeau x) and of "S'il est ainsy" (Rondeau lxi).

Compare the following lines in "For to love her"—

l. 4. But she hath made another promesse ;	Car celle la qui je cuidais estre La bien aymée m'a faict bien apparoistre.
l. 7. For on my faith I loved too surely ;	Qu'au faict d'amor n'y a que fiction Mais d'autre ami a prins possession. (Oeuvres. Rondeau x.)
l. 8. But reason will that I do cease For to love her;	Amor commande et la raison ordonne Que je te laisse. (Rondeau lxi.)

Rondeau x is one of the poems in the Adolescence Clementine, 1529. Again, the rondeau, "Thou hast not faith," recalls Marot's "Amor et Foy" (No. lvi).

> Si l'amour faut le Foy n'est plus cherie
> Si Foy peut, l'amour s'en va perie
> Pour ce les ay en devise liey
> Amour et Foy.

The rondeau, "If it be so," has a closer connection; it was undoubtedly written by Wyatt, with Marot's "S'il est ainsy" in his mind.

[1] I disagree with Mr. Padelford here, who quotes this rondeau as an instance of a clumsy attempt at being lively.

If it be so that I forsake the
As banysshed from thy company
Yet my hert, my mynde and my affection
Shall still remain in my possession.

S'il est ainsy que ce corps te habondonne
Amour commande et la raison ordonne
Que je te laisse en charge de ma foi
Le cueur je tien car par honnete loi
Aulcun ne doit reprendre ce qu'il donna. (Rondeau lxi.)

But myself I say on this fashion
I have her hert in my possession
And of itself it cannot perdy
By no means love an hertless lady
And on my faith, good is the reason
If it be so.

Car j'ay son cueur et corps san cueur de soy
Ne peut aymer la raison est tres bonne
S'il est ainsy.

In this rondeau the likeness is unmistakable, yet it suggests the work of the memory rather than actual translation. (Rondeau published in 1532.)

The following douzaine has lines which are an exact translation of St. Gelais' douzaine.

Wyatt—

Madame withouten many wordes
Ons I am sure ye will or no,
And if ye will, then leve your bordes
And use youre wit and show it so,
And with a beck ye shall me call;
And if on oon that burneth alwaye
Ye have any pitie at all,
Answer her faire with ye or nay.

If it be ye I shall be fayne,
If it be nay frendes as before,
Ye shall another man obtayne
And I myne owne and youres no more.

St. Gelais—

S'amour vous a donne un cueur en gage
De quoi vous sert user tant de langage ?
Or vous voulez ou vous ne voulez point ;
Quand vous voudrez deus mille ans deviser,
Si foudroit il a la fin s'aviser
Qu'on s'en ennuye et venir a un point ;
Si vous voulez me faites que branler
Car j'entendray le moindre signe en l'air

Et vous serez ami non decevant
S'il ne vous plaist ? amis comme devant
Un autre aurez et moy ne pouvant estre
Servant de vous de moi je seray maistre.

There can be no doubt as to the influence of these French poets upon Wyatt in the early stage of his career as a poet; the songs quoted above were composed to music; Wyatt's ear was peculiarly sensitive to refrains and catches of songs, and it is no doubt the remembrance of the music that revived the ideas of the song, for it is much more easy for a person with a musical ear to remember the words of a song, than to remember a poem with no musical accompaniment. It will be also noted that Wyatt makes no attempt at a metrical scheme for the douzaine, but simply writes twelve lines consisting of three quatrains.

Certain conceits treated in Wyatt's poems are found to correspond with similar ideas in French and Italian forms. When this is so, it either points to a common Italian source for the French and English, as in the case of Sannazaro's sonnet, or to a very common idea found in these languages irrespective of contemporary influence, and may therefore be examples of a general stock of ideas ultimately traceable to the Provençal School; such are the poems on a "Kysse," and on contradictions. The poem on a "Kysse" may be compared in Wyatt, Marot, and Serafino respectively, but the idea is ubiquitous.

Wyatt. "Alas Madame"—

l. 6. Another kysse shall have my lyff through ended
l. 7. For to my mowth the first my hert did suck
l. 8. The next shall clene owt of my brest it pluck.

Marot. "En la baisant," 1529—

l. 9. Bref mon esprit sans cognoissance d'ame
l. 10. Vivoit alors sur la bouche à ma dame
l. 11. Dont se mouvoit le corps enamouré
l. 12. Et si le lievre eust gueres demouré
l. 13. Contre la mienne elle ma sucie l'ame
En la baisant.

Serafino's strambotto runs—

l. 5. Che tal dolcezza in quelli labri accolsi
l. 6. Che'l spirto mio fu per fuggirsi via

l. 7. So ch'al secondo tocco usciva fora
l. 8. Bastare ti dé, che per tal fallo mora.

Now, from the position of the poem in the E MS., Wyatt appears to have written it some time after the passing phase of the French influence, and had already made translations of Serafino's strambotti.[1] Marot's version is found in one of the " Adolescence poems " published in 1532,[2] and *may* be due to Italian influence, but a comparison of the three versions shows a close likeness to the Italian in Wyatt, while Marot's poem is much more free. The conceit of the two contraries is a very common theme among the Petrarchists of the Quattrocento; we find it in Wyatt and the French poets. " I find no peace till all my war is done," is a translation of Petrarch's " Pace non trovo." St. Gelais and Marot wrote rondeaus in the same style; for example: " J'ay trop de peine et peu de recompense " (St. Gelais) and the rondeau " Par Contradictions " (Marot).[3] When Wyatt employs conceits there is direct translation of Petrarch and Serafino. The French poets probably gave expression to the ideas which had made their way into France from Provençal writers among whom conceits flourished. The Italians expressed the same ideas of the Provençal School in new terms, with new power derived from a revival of the classics and the study of Plato; Wyatt presented these ideas in the English tongue by translating from the Italian.

On the other hand, a purely French influence is unmistakable in the rondeaus and douzaine quoted above.

In later years Wyatt occasionally shows signs of a French influence. " Though this [the] port " has a French refrain: " En voyant la galere."

A poem which might be called " A New Year's Gift," written in Spain sometime between 1537–9, affords an

[1] See Appendix D, p. 149.
[2] The 1532 collection is the *second* publication of some of Marot's works.
[3] Adolescence Clementine. 1529.

interesting parallel to one of Marot's etrennes. The French poem is not only regarded as one of Marot's best pieces, but has been called one of the happiest in French literature.[1] It is in epigram form consisting of a double quatrain interlaced by means of the rhyming in the fourth and fifth lines, thus, a b a b, b c b c [2] (which, by the way, is probably responsible for Spenser's form of the quatrain in the sonnet, for, it will be remembered, he studied Marot closely).

Ce nouvel an pour etrenne vous donne
Mon cueur blessé d'une nouvelle plaie
Contraint j'y suis, amour ainsi l'ordonne
En qui un cas bien contraire j'essaie
Car ce cueur là c'est ma richesse vraie
Le demeurant n'est rien où je ne fonde
Et faut donner le meilleur bien que j'aie
Si j'ay vouloir d' estre riche en ce monde."

Wyatt expanded this idea into a graceful poem of four six-lined stanzas, composed of four octosyllabic followed by two decasyllabic lines, and the metre runs in the form of two triplets, a a b, a b b.

It begins—

To seke eche where where man doth live ·
The sea, the land, the rock, the clive
France, Spain and Inde everywhere;
Is none a greater gyft to gyve .
Less set by oft and is so lief and dere
Dare I well say than that I give to yere.

This stanza is expanded from " Le demeurant n'est rien ou je ne fonde," and the first line, " Ce nouvel an pour etrenne vous donne," is neatly expressed by Wyatt as a refrain to every stanza, " I give to yere."

Wyatt also keeps the expectation alive as to the nature of the gift until the last line of the poem.

[1] *Hist. de la Litt. Française.* Faguet.

[2] The form used by Chaucer for his octave in the Monk's Tale, and the A B C .

The last stanza runs—

> To the therefore the same retayne
> The like of the to have agayne
> France would I give if mine it were;
> Is none alyve in whom doeth rayne
> Lesser disdayne, freely therefore lo here
> Dare I well give I say *my hert to yere.*

The line " France, Spain, and Inde," and the occurrence of the word " Fraunce " in the last stanza has puzzled critics, for it was not written in France. The discovery of Marot's etrenne, which is, I think, certainly the source of Wyatt's idea, explains its use. Wyatt was writing in the spirit of the French poem, and placed France first, then he mentions Spain, where he was staying at the time, and " Inde " expresses the uttermost corner of the earth.

The poem is distinguished by grace and freshness, and Wyatt has added a singularly happy touch in the line—

> It is both *whole and pure withouten peer*
> Dare I well say the gyft I give to yere.

This is an improvement upon Marot's artificial and less pleasing " Mon cueur *blessé d'une nouvelle plaie.*" The poem is typical of Wyatt's later work. He took the idea from Marot, but developed it on his own lines; the expression of graceful thoughts, the harmony of language, and the form itself, show what an advance Wyatt had made since the rondeau days.

One more name needs mention in connection with French influence—that of Maurice Sève, the symbolist, native of Lyons. In 1533 he discovered Laura's supposed tomb; in 1544 was published first the *Délie*, consisting of 449 dizaines. It was customary for a poet's productions to circulate in MS. long before their publication, so that it is quite possible that the *Délie* was begun at least ten years before it was printed. Moreover, his friendship with Marot, his ardent Petrarchist tendencies, and his leadership of the coterie at Lyons,

afterwards known as the "École Lyonais," precludes the possibility of his being unknown to Wyatt. In 1538, ambassadorial duties led Wyatt to Marseilles, and it is not unlikely that he then met Sève. He wrote about this time the epigram, "Desire alas my master and my fo," which may be compared with one of Sève's dizaines. Wyatt was intensely imitative, and the style of his epigram suggests contact with Sève; it is interesting to compare the two poems—

Wyatt—	*Sève*—
Desire alas my master and my fo	Tant est nature en volonté puissante
So sore altered thyself how mayst thow se	Et volonteuse en son foible pouvoir
Sometyme thou I sought that drives me to an fro	Que bien souvent a son veuil blandissante
Sometyme thou ledst ledythe the and me	Se vait par soy grandement decevoir
What reson is to ruwle thy subjects so	A mon instinct je laisse concevoir Un doux souhait qui non encor bien né
By forcyd law and mutabilitie	Et de plaisir nourriz et gouverné
For when by the I dowted to have blame	Se paissant plus de chose plus haultaine
Even now by hate agane I dowt the same.	Hor estant creu en desire effrené Plus je l'attire et plus a soy m'entraine.

Many of the dizaines in the 1544 edition are preceded by a woodcut.

The "Tant est nature" dizaine is illustrated by a bull, which a cowherd is endeavouring to hold in. The ultimate source for the idea is to be found in Petrarch's sonnet, "Io sentio dentr' al cor gia venir meno."

> "Largai 'l desio, ch' i teng or molto a freno
> Et misil per la via quasi smarrita
> Pero che di e notte indi m' invita
> Et io contra sua voglia altrende 'l meno."

Now the prevailing idea is to regard Sève as a recluse,

whose fame in his lifetime did not extend beyond Lyons. He is described as a "Solitaire dont la torche fumeuse n'atteignit jusqu' à Paris." But as early as 1535 his Romance, translated from Juan de Flores, was printed at Lyons, and in the following year at Paris.

Marot's works [1] disclose the fact that he was in communication not only with Sève, but with other literary spirits of Lyons; Marot was also befriended and protected by Sève at Lyons when forced to retire from the French Court in 1533, and the fact that he claimed the discovery of Laura's tomb was quite sufficient to spread his fame among all students of Petrarch. It is quite true that he played an important part in connection with the Pléiade, but it seems to me that he is by no means unimportant in the consideration of the translations of Petrarch at the French Court between 1530 and 1540; and probably through Marot he became known to Wyatt.

Lastly, Wyatt's poem, "It burneth yet alas my hert's desyre," [2] may be compared with Mellin de St. Gelais for style, though the idea is found in the mediæval poem, "La Belle Dame Sans Merci," in the Pynson and Thynne editions of Chaucer. (See Skeat's copy of Thynne's version.)

Mellin de St. Gelais' version is doubtless formed on the original French of Alain Chartier, but it is a graceful rendering in short quatrains; he keeps also to the spirit of the old poem; Wyatt, doubtless for artistic purposes, gives a happy ending. The French poem begins—

L'homme. Me veuillez madame	*Lover.* It burneth yet alas my
La peine ignorer	hert's desire
Que mon vraie flamme	*Lady.* What is the thing that
Vous veult declarer.	hath enflamed thy hert

[1] Cf. 1. Lines to M. Sève Lyonais. (Oeuvres de Marot.)
2. ,, J. Sève ,, ,, ,,
3. ,, J. Faye ,, ,, ,,
4. Poem to François Sagon ,, ,,

[2] Compare also the Serventese of Trissino, between the lover and the lady. *Le Rime.* Vicenza. 1529.

La Dame. Je vous pry me taire
Vostre mal ou bien
Je m'en ay que faire
J'ay assez du mien.

Lover. A certain point as fervent as the fire
Lady. The hete shall cese if that thow wilt convert.

The opening verses in the French and English versions of the old poem show at once the difference in spirit. The French rendering carries out the mediæval idea and is merely a game in gallantry. The English version expresses real sentiment and tenderness, and the rapid movement of the English poem, its quick interchange of thought, and tense dialogue, give both force and charm to Wyatt's poem. It is, unfortunately, absent from every known MS., but the manner of handling the theme, the genuine sentiment and polished style mark it as a late work. On the whole, the French influence in Wyatt is transitory, and affects the earlier part of his work in the rondeaus; a striking resemblance is seen in the douzaine, but the impression formed on comparing these French and English parallels is that they were the result of memory, and not translation, for he reproduces the refrains and a line here and there from the rondeaus; and the douzaine, though almost word for word translation in parts, has no special metrical form in English; it is merely twelve lines composed of three quatrains; if Wyatt had translated with the French poem before him, he would undoubtedly have made some metrical scheme for a douzaine, for it is clear throughout his work that he took special note of form.

Between the years 1537–9 two poems were written in Wyatt's best manner, the one with a French refrain, the other evidently deriving its inspiration from Marot's etrenne. Otherwise, Italian influence is predominant in Wyatt at the later period.

Once again Wyatt met Marot at the French Court 1539–40, at the time when the French poet presented Charles V with his version of the Psalms. This event may

have been instrumental in determining Wyatt to write his Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms, although his model was Italian.

To conclude, it must be claimed for Wyatt that French influence in his poetry is not intangible. It shows itself in reminiscences of snatches of songs and refrains. In his public life he kept in touch with France and from time to time, no doubt, read French poems, such as Marot's etrenne. French influence though transitory is definite, but was not carried on with those serious aims to which Wyatt applied himself to Italian forms. He turned to Italy as the centre of literary influence, but he reproduced French songs in reminiscence of happy hours with gay and witty French poets.

Sources traced to Italian Poets.

Sonnets.

			By whom discovered.
Petrarch (ed. by Giosuè Carducci, 1899)—			
The Long Love	Amor che nel pensier	Sonetto in Vita 140	Nott, G.
Cesar when that	Cesare poi che	,, 102	,,
Whoso list to hount	Una Candida Cerva [Cf. also Romanello "Una cerva qu til."]	,, 190	,,
Was I never yet	Io non fu d'amor	,, 82	,,
If amours faith	S'una fede amorosa	,, 224	,,
Some foules ther be	Son animali al mondo	,, 19	,,
Because I have the	Perch' io t'abbio guardato	,, 49	,,
I fynde no peace	Pace non trovo	,, 134	,,
My galy charged	Passe la nave	,, 189	,,
Avysing the bright bemes	Mirando 'l sol	,, 173	,,
Ever myn hap	Mia ventura al venir	,, 201	,,
Love fortune and my mynde	Amor fortuna et	,, 124	,,
The lyvely sperkes	Vive faville uscian	,, 258	,,
Such vayn thoughtes	Pien d'un vago pensier	,, 169	,,
How oft have I	Mille fiate	,, 21	,,
If waker care	S'une fede amorosa	,, 224	,,
My pillar perished	Rotta e l'alta colonna	Sonetto in Morte 269	,,
Sannazaro—			
Like to these unmesurable	Simile a questi	Opere Part III. Sonetto 3	Tilley, A.
Filosseno—			
Unstable dreme	Pareavi in questi noctè	Strambotto	Koeppel, E.

			By whom discovered.
Serafino—			
My hert I gave the	Il cor ti diedi La donna di natura	Strambotti f. 151, ed. 1516	Nott, G.
	Rondeaus.		
Petrarch—			
Go burning sighes	Ite caldi sospiri	Sonetto in Vita 153	,,
Behold Love	Or vedi amor	Madrigale 125	Koeppel, E.
	Epigrams.		
Serafino—			
Alas Madame	In colpa Donna		Nott, G.
What nedeth these	A che minacci		,,
The furyous gonne	Se una bombardo		,,
Venemous thorns	Ogni pugnente		,,
He is not ded	S'io son caduto		,,
Ariosto—			
From these hye hilles	Forza è al fin	Cap. Amorosi	Koeppel, E.
The wandering gadling	Timida pastorella	Orlando Furioso	Flügel, E.
Petrarch—			
Off Cartage he	Vinse Hannibal	Sonetto	Nott, G.
Various Measures			
Petrarch—			
So feble is the thred	Si è debili il filo	Canzone in Vita No. 37	,,
Myne olde dere enemy	Quel antiquo mio dolce	Canzone in Morte 360	Nott, G.
Adapted from Petrarch—			
O restful place	O cameretta		,,
O goodly hand	O bella mane		,,
Perdy I saide it not	S'i'l dissi mai		Koeppel, E.
So unwarely was never	Per fara una		,,
Will ye se . . .	Chi vuel veder Qual piu diverza		Nott, G. Koeppel, E.
So unwarely was never	Io mi rivolgo		,,
To cause accord			
Hevyn and erth	Idea traced to lines in Sestina iii.		
All hevy myndes	,, ,,	Qual grazia	

			By whom discovered.
Sometyme I sigh	Idea traced to lines in In dubbio di mio stato.		
Tibaldeo—			
When first myn eyes	Deh perche non.	Sonetto.	Koeppel, E.

Adapted from Serafino—

Resownd my voyce. Strambotto, L'aer che senti. Padelford,
All in thy loke. Strambotto, 78, ed. 1516. F. M.
Tangled I was. *Refrain only* borrowed from Barzaletta ix. Koeppel, E.
For want of will. Strambotto, 302.
Like as the swanne. Cf. Barzaletta ii, last strophe.
Me list no more to say. Strambotto.

Satires in terza rima.

Luigi Alamanni—			
Myn owne John Poynz.	Tommaso mio gentil.	Sat. x.	Nott, G

New Sources.

Pietro Aretino—		
Penitential Psalms in terza rima	Isette Salmi	R. Esdaile.
Serafino—		
Patience of all my smart	Patientia alla malora Adapted from Barzaletta xviii.	A. K. F.
Petrarch—		
Desyre alas.	Largai 'l desio Adapted from Sonetto 47, ll. 5–8	A. K. F.

CHAPTER IX

ITALIAN INFLUENCE

PETRARCHISM is that aspect of Wyatt's poetry which has been already investigated. J. A. Symonds and others have shown how Italian lyrical song sprang to life in the thirteenth century through the spiritualizing medium of Guinicelli, Guittone, and Dante upon the Provençal School of poetry. Guinicelli's exquisite lyric, translated by D. G. Rossetti, "Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore," was one of the earliest expressions of a new power in poetry. The revivifying element is due to the study of Plato, as for example the idea found in the following lines from the Symposium, "For love walks not upon the earth nor over the heads of men but he dwells within . . . having established his habitation within the souls of gods and men." (Shelley's Translation.)

This and similar ideas in the *Phædo* were responsible for that finer sense of beauty within the soul at one with external nature that metamorphosed the artificial lyrics of the Provençal poets in the thirteenth century by superimposing upon their stanzas the new power of love. A complete expression was reached in Dante's *Vita Nuova*.[1]

But the sensuous beauty of love idealized and spiritualized by Dante differs from Petrarch's ideal, whose genius

[1] The idea is expressed in its purity in M. Angelo's sonnets later, cf. No. liii, "Non e sempre di copi." [Love is not always harsh. Trans. J. A. Symonds.]

> Love is not always harsh and deadly sin,
> If it be love of loveliness divine
> It leaves the heart all soft and infantine
> For rays of God's own grace to enter in.

interpreted a form of sensuous beauty which hovered between an intensity of spiritual passion and a physical beauty delighted in for itself alone. His poems are set in a perfect form, and excel in grace and harmony of language, with those delicate nature touches inspired by the beauties of the Vale of Vaucluse.

The skilful blending of nature with grace of expression made Petrarch the master of lyrical form in the Quattrocento, and indeed for all time. His material is sometimes of less worth, and it is this fact which helps us to understand why the Petrarchists fell so far short of their master. Seizing upon his theme—love for a certain lady—and dwelling upon his mannerisms, but lacking the gift of perfect style and exquisite harmony of language in which Petrarch revels; wanting, too, in the magic of his nature touches (though an appreciation of nature is the birthright of all Italians), their verses are on a different plane. All complain to a certain lady, all seize upon the trick of conceits; all, in fact, write so-called love sonnets, and all burn and freeze, despair and hope, wish for life and long for death, at one and the same moment.

The more material side of Petrarch's art was thus accentuated; it degenerated, in the later Renaissance poets, into sensuality, until in Pietro Aretino we find embodied all the worst literary vices of the period with an utter absence of spiritualizing force, yet with the appreciation of nature, inherent in every Italian of the sixteenth century, sharply defined. In him an extraordinarily clear perception was interpreted in vivid speech, and his description of a Venetian sunset in one of the " Letters " [1] is justly famed as the dawning of a true and natural criticism which found no other exponent until many years later in France.

Wyatt ignored the beauty of nature and the physical

[1] See *Letters*, iii. No. 48. To Titian, and concluding " O Titiano dove sete mo' ! "

aspect of the lady—the two prominent features of Petrarchism; in so doing he cut himself off from the most beautiful of the Sonetti and Canzone, and confined himself, for the most part, to the translation of the conceited sonnets.

He has been blamed for this preference, but in the process of selection and rejection his individuality emerges. He was intensely interested in humanity, and as an observer of character and states of mind he had no affinity for external nature and solitary meditation. Wyatt had studied Petrarch from boyhood, but he showed no signs of Italian influence in his poems until after his visit to Italy in 1527. He then determined to study versification seriously in order to introduce some of the metrical forms then flourishing in Italy, and his task was made easier in this respect by the publication in 1529 of Trissino's *Poetica* together with his translation of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia.*

The Quattrocento was in its decline, and the rise of the Quincento group of writers is marked by the death of Sannazaro and the publication of his poems in 1530. Under the literary dictatorship of Bembo and Polizian new aims were set forward, and perfection of form was sought; the high water mark of achievement is seen in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme.* But as a literary style is always more in evidence when it is in decadence, Wyatt caught up the mannerisms of the Quattrocento group, and his subsequent choice of conceits in Petrarch's Sonnets, and Serafino's strambotti, his play upon words, and the occasional doubling of words at the end of a line show him to be an imitator of the Quattrocento poets.

Wyatt chose Petrarch for his first exercises because he was the recognized master of Italian lyrical forms, but his travels in Italy and his own personal bias resulted in the imitation of contemporary Italian writers and in the adoption of the Quattrocento methods.

Wyatt introduced the sonnet form and the conceited

style into England at the same time. The conceit was destined to permeate literature for over a century. Sidney, in his *Arte of Poesie*, deplored it, but could not keep free from it. Shakespeare's early style is saturated with it, and it continued its course among the metaphysical writers (whom Johnson describes as "pursuing an idea to the last ramifications of thought"), and finally culminated in Cowley. It is important to remember that this mannerism, with consequences so lasting, was first employed by Wyatt in his Italian translations.

Wyatt's first exercises in the sonnet form were undertaken during his four years' absence at Calais 1528–32, and were certainly prior to Marot's and St. Gelais' attempts. (See preceding chapter.) The sonnet needs perfection of form and a flow of thought rising in volume throughout the octave and sinking to rest in the sestet. It is, consequently, the least successful of all Wyatt's attempts, since it glaringly exhibits his early lack of skill in the five-foot line, and his want of stability in language. His merit, however, lies in his introduction of the form. It was left to others, to Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth, to make of it that powerful instrument of sweet or stately music to which it attained in their hands.

It has been said [1] that the Troilus measure no doubt helped towards Wyatt's use of the sonnet, for a natural break has been observed after the seventh line in the sonnets "Ther was never ffile," "Some fowles there be," and "How oft have I." As a matter of fact, Wyatt did not appear to write in Troilus measure in his early work; judging from the MSS., he employed the rondeau and sonnet forms before using the Chaucerian stanza, and his earliest work is in the light lyrical metres of the fifteenth-century songs. It will, moreover, be seen that of the three sonnets quoted above the octave and sestet in two of them is clearly divided.

[1] *Saintsbury's Prosody*, vol. i. Child. Camb. Hist. of Lit., vol. iii.

Wyatt, like the majority of English sonneteers, found a difficulty in adapting the Italian form of the sestet in English; according to Italian rules the sestet must consist of two triplets, and a concluding couplet consequently destroys the metrical scheme. The English sonnet tended from the beginning to end with a couplet, and was firmly established by its employment in Shakespeare's sonnet sequence. Wyatt's sestet in the earlier sonnets takes the form c d d c e e, and shows an endeavour to keep the triplet form in the metrical scheme. Later, a variation of the two tercets is made by employing a quatrain and a concluding couplet.

One fact may help to explain Wyatt's method of arranging the sestet: the first Italian poem translated by him was the madrigale "Or vedi Amor." It is the opening poem in the E MS., and occurs first in the large group of poems in the D MS. The madrigal consists of three tercets a b b, a c c, c d d. Wyatt no doubt studied this, and saw that the first four lines a b b a is the scheme of the double quatrain comprising the octave in the sonnet; he also probably made out that when this madrigal is divided, as it should be, into tercets, the second and third line of every tercet is a couplet, and thus in his first study of the madrigal he found the skeleton of his rhyming scheme for the sonnet. He therefore employed the double quatrain a b b a for the octave; he proceeded to form the sestet after the model of the tercet found in the madrigal, by introducing a new line with a new rhyme for the first line of the sestet, making it rhyme with the fourth line of the sestet, and altered the original madrigal form to the sonnet form, thus—

Madrigal a b b, a c c, c d d became sonnet form a b b a, c d d, c e e.

It is clear that Wyatt studied form[1] very carefully, and

[1] It is not unlikely that he studied the *Poetica* of Trissino, which was published together with Trissino's translation of Dante's *De Vulgari*

set about in a scholarly fashion to understand the intricacies of the metrical system of the new forms which he sought to introduce into English verse. He doubtless compared the form of this madrigal with that of the sonnet, and made the discovery that the sestet in English was easier of achievement after the style of tercets in the madrigal.

In the two last sonnets in E MS., " Ye that in love " and " If waker care," and in the sonnet " The pillar perisht is " (written in 1540), a quatrain and couplet is employed for the sestet; one other sonnet, " Such is the course," evidently written after 1540, and found only in Tottel, is in the form of *three quatrains with a concluding couplet*, known as the Shakespearean.

" Ye that in love " and " If waker care " were written in Spain 1537–9. Surrey certainly did not write before 1536, and it is improbable that Wyatt saw any of Surrey's poems before his departure for Spain. Wyatt's variation in the sestet may therefore have given Surrey the idea of writing three quatrains for the first twelve lines.[1] It is not possible to give facts, but it is highly probable that the established form of ottava rima in Wyatt's epigrams should have given rise to another idea for the sonnet form;[2] the rhyming scheme of Wyatt's ottava rima is a b a b a b c c—a sestet in alternate rhymes with a concluding couplet. One more step, two sestets, and the concluding couplet, gives us Surrey's sonnet in alternate rhymes. It is certain, how-

Eloquentia, in 1529. This most interesting volume contains a variety of schemes of verse. It is divided into four parts : (1) speech ; (2) feet and kinds of metre ; (3) schemes of metre ; (4) sonnet, canzone, ballata, and other lyrical forms.

[1] A study of Wyatt's methods and metres leads to the conclusion that Surrey did not show greater initiative in the sonnet form, as Mr. Bowyer Nichols believes. See *A Little Book of English Sonnets*, Introduction, xiii.

[2] See Surrey's two-rhymed sonnet, " The soote season that bud and blome ofte bringes." But Trissino gives the form a b a b a b a b as one of the octave varieties. See *Poetica*, Part III, ed. 1529.

ever, that Wyatt wrote the two sonnets with the quatrain and concluding couplet for the sestet when he had become very skilful in the ottava rima form, employing it frequently, while in later years he rarely used the sonnet form.

The " Or vedi Amor " madrigal not only appears to form a solution of Wyatt's dealings with the sestet, it also exemplifies his method of dealing with Petrarch's version. The Italian poem introduces three personages: Love, always a distinct entity in Petrarch, the lady, and the lover; the lady is the central figure; she is described and encircled within a flowering landscape. Wyatt introduces the three personages, but makes Love the central figure; he dispenses with the landscape, omits personal description of the lady and lengthens Petrarch's nine lines to the thirteen lines of the rondeau with the refrain " Behold Love " (Or vedi Amor). The two beautiful lines in the Italian—

> Tu se armato et ella in trecchie e'n gonna
> Si siede e scalza i fiori e l'erba.

are rendered by Wyatt—

> Weponed thou art and she unarmed sitteth.

All Wyatt's earlier sonnets denote his preference for conceits. The best-known sonnets are probably " The long love " and " My galley." The first has generally been taken to exemplify Wyatt's faulty versification,[1] but the sonnet in Tottel differs considerably from Wyatt's own version in the E MS., which affords a good example of certain characteristic rules according to his method of dealing with the decasyllabic line.

The " My galy " [2] sonnet is the expression of one of the most popular conceits among the Italians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In our own day Giosué Carducci has

[1] Prof. Saintsbury's criticism applies only to Tottel's erroneous version of Wyatt. It does not work at all with Wyatt's own version, E MS. (See specimen poems, Appendix B, No. 3.)

[2] For the earliest rendering of this metaphor in English, see O.E. poem " Christ," l. 850, *et seq.*

made use of the same conceit in his sonnet, " Passa la nave mia sola, tra il pianto " (Juvenilia, p. 85; Poesie 1901–2); and also in his translation of Heine's *Verschiedene*, " Mit schwarzen Segeln," beginning " Passa la nave mia con vele neve " (nuova rima, p. 604).

Wyatt seems to have realized his want of success in the sonnet form, and after 1533 he preferred ottava rima, poulter's measure, or terza rima for his translations. Occasionally in later years he wrote a sonnet for a special occasion, as for instance, " A May Song," " Ye that in Love," and the lament over Cromwell's fall, " The Pillar perishd is." These later sonnets show a mastery over form and development in power of thought, with vigorous language, and an absence of Romance endings in the rhyming scheme.

Wyatt turned from the early sonnets to ottava rima and imitated Serafino, whose strambotti were published in 1516. Serafino (d. 1500) was the leader of the quattrocento poets, and during the earlier years of the sixteenth century he had many followers. He exhibited the faults of the Petrarchists in a marked degree, and a fondness for conceits led him into a bombastic style; his love of repetition degenerated into exercises of mere ingenuity until he perpetrated such lines as these—

> Vien vieni, accorri accorri, o morte morte
> Hor grido grido, alto alto, hor muto muto
> Acqua acqua, al foco al foco, aiuto, aiuto.

He employed ottava rima for the strambotto; it consisted of six lines in alternating rhyme and a concluding couplet. Wyatt was particularly successful with this form, employing it for the so-called epigrams, which are poems on conceits rather than pithy verses. Wyatt sometimes expresses real feeling in original pieces such as " A face that shuld content me," and " Luckes my faire falcon," and " Tagus Farewell." The form is far less difficult to manage than the sonnet. The argument may be given in the first four or the first six lines, and the conclusion is consequently

set forth in a quatrain or a couplet. An examination of Wyatt's epigrams shows variety in his use of ottava rima, but he generally makes the first six lines rhyme alternately, and concludes with the couplet. This form doubtless gave him the idea of varying the Italian form of the sestet by employing a quatrain rhyming alternately and a concluding couplet. Surrey carried the step further and made the first twelve lines of the sonnet consist of three quatrains rhyming alternately. His first sonnet adheres to the strict ottava rima form where the first twelve lines rhyme alternately with two rhymes only, with a concluding couplet, thus: a b a b . . . a a.

In 1532 Wyatt returned to England. He had overcome the initial difficulties of the five-foot line, and had written the greater number of the sonnets; he had, moreover, attained to a certain dexterity in the epigram. One of his earlier poems was the translation of the canzone, "Quel antiquo mio dolce empio signore," into Troilus stanzas;[1] this is perhaps the weakest of Wyatt's metrical exercises. The Troilus stanza seems to have presented difficulties to Wyatt, for two other faulty poems (both peculiar to the D MS.) are in this measure. He wrote chiefly lyrical poems during the second Court period, 1533–6.

After the fall of the Boleyns in 1536, he once more turned to a more serious style, and wrote satires. The first was a translation of Luigi Alamanni's Tenth Satire, from whom also he took the form of terza rima, the common vehicle in Italian for moral and didactic poems. The Satires possess great merit; the metre was more suited to Wyatt's style than the sonnet and rondeau forms, which require smoothness and regularity. Writers of moral satires have always indulged in a certain ruggedness in form and freedom in versification. The subject, too, was eminently suitable, for Wyatt's recent experiences in connection with the downfall

[1] The Troilus stanza is *preceded* by Wyatt's early poems in rondeau and sonnet form.

of the Boleyns and his own imprisonment had made him in sympathy with Alamanni's reflections on Court life.

The other two satires are freer translations from Horace, and express sincerity and a lofty moral, with occasional flashes of humour. With regard to the metre, Alamanni uses terza rima strictly, confining the sense of each period within the tercet, and very occasionally allowing an overflow of one tercet into another.

Wyatt's terza rima presents more freedom, not only allowing overflow from one tercet to another, but often making the pause in the middle of a line, for example—

> Amid this joy ther fell a sory chaunce
> that welaway the straunger bowght ful dere
> the fare she had ; for as she lookyd askaunce
> Under a stole she spyd two stemyng eyes
> In a round hed with sharpe eryes ; in Fraunce

Overflow is a characteristic feature in the Satires and Psalms. Reading this later work of Wyatt's we realize how near he was to blank verse. He had become less dependent upon rhyme, while he was more and more occupied with the rhythm and the strength of the thought. In employing terza rima in this free manner he again shows his characteristic style of selection with reservation. He adapted it to his purpose as he had adapted the sestet to an English style, and in these instances, as in many others in the history of English literature, Wyatt's handling of metre proves to us how impossible it is to plant a foreign metrical scheme exactly, without the necessary readjustment to suit the native genius of the English language.

He employed terza rima, in imitation of Alamanni, for an epistolary style; but in doing so, modified the rigour of the form, adapting it to an easy style of verse paragraphs of *various lengths*, instead of confining the meaning within the bounds of the tercets, while the slight pauses occasioned by the rhyme helped him to keep the balance of the line.

Prof. Saintsbury does not approve of Wyatt's use of terza rima, and withholds the name, preferring to call his verse "intertwisted decasyllables" (*Hist. of Prosody*, I, p. 311). But one may remember how Victor Hugo,[1] in the nineteenth century, rebelled against that eminently respectable but short-sighted body of the Académie Française when he revolutionized the old classical French couplet, insisting upon freedom with the cæsura and overflow, where for centuries the sense had been strictly confined within the couplet, and the cæsura placed after the fourth syllable. Prof. Saintsbury, referring to Wyatt's Satires, says, "the best name for the metre of the remarkable poems . . . is probably interlaced heroic couplets. It is usual to print them continuously," and in a footnote he says, "or they may be classed as simply terza rima unskilfully written, but Wyatt has not got the terza rima movement at all, indeed quatrains suggest themselves and quintets and almost everything."

However, we have Wyatt's *own authority*, plainly seen in the E MS., for calling the metre terza rima, for he writes continuously, using capitals for every third line after the style of the Italian (see Alamanni, opere 1532–3); but the Italian form, while allowing overflow of one tercet into another, strictly avoids overflow of the sestet. Dante, in both the *Divina Commedia* and the Psalms, allows overflow of the tercet, for example—

> Io gli risposi: "Ciacco, il tuo affano
> Mi pesa si, che a lagrimar m'invita:
> Ma dimmi, se tu sai, a che verrano
> Li cittadin della citta partita?
> S'alcun v'e guisto: e dimmi la cagione
> Perchè l'ha tanta discordia assalita."
>
> *Inferno*, vi, 158, *et seq.*

[1] Victor Hugo *dislocated* "Ce grande niais Alexandrin." See *Les Contemplations*: "Le vers Rompt désormais la règle . . ."

And

> Io sono afflitto e molto umiliato,
> Sol per la grande mia iniquitate:
> E tanto è lo mio cor disconsolato,
> Ch'io gemo e ruggio,
> Ps. xxxvii. 8.

Wyatt not only employs enjambement at the tercet, but at the sestet also, contrary to the Italian method. The Psalms represent Wyatt's best work, and though highly praised after his death, they are little known. The fact is, metrical Psalms have never found much favour in England owing to the beauty of language and the lyrical passion displayed in the Authorized Version; so that while Marot, Luther, Buchanan, are honoured in France, Germany, and Scotland, respectively, for their metrical versions of the Psalms, Wyatt's efforts in this direction have received scant attention and little admiration. Viewed in the light of their intrinsic worth it will be seen that Wyatt rises to a nobility of utterance in the Psalms that is scarcely found elsewhere in his work. Freedom is employed with ease; thought is allied with the imagination, and sincerity and moral power assume real religious fervour. His merit is realized when his version is compared with the source. Pietro Aretino's prose version has recently been discovered by Mr. Esdaile (Brit. Mus.) to be the source of Wyatt's version.

Pietro Aretino is the most extraordinary figure of Italian Literature and, indeed, of the Italian Renaissance; he stands as the type of its decadence, when art became closely connected with immorality.[1] He wrote poems, tragedies, comedies, dialogues, and religious pieces, including Lives of Saints and the Penitential Psalms. He never read, and boasted that his only equipment for his writing was a bottle

[1] "Private depravity and political debasement went with one of the most brilliant awakenings in the history of the Western world, and the association of craft and guilt with sacred things." . . . "Only a giant like M. Angelo escaped this deadly climate."—Lord Morley on Macchiavelli.

of ink and paper. His letters fill six volumes, and are addressed to all the leading personages of his day; he earned his living by a process of blackmailing. Those who refused to bestow gifts upon him were made notorious by his abusive writings; those in his pay received fulsome flattery. Personal advertisement was a custom of the later Renaissance, and men of note were anxious to be on good terms with Aretino to escape his calumnies.

In 1539–40 he wrote to Cromwell in order to obtain the patronage of Henry VIII.[1] Henry sent him 300 crowns; thereupon Aretino dedicated his second volume of Letters to the "Magnanimo Henrico Ottimo" in 1542.[2] One of the latest entries in Cromwell's "remembrances" was "to remember Aretino for some gift."[3] Princes and great men from all parts thronged his palace at Venice and brought him gifts, either through a wish for self-advertisement or through fear of coming within the range of his malignant tongue. He settled at Venice in 1527 and was then notorious for *maldicentia;* there he remained until his death in 1556. While in Spain Wyatt had much converse with the Venetian Ambassador, and through him he may have become acquainted with Aretino's Psalms; but Aretino's notoriety made it impossible that he should have been unknown.[4] Pietro Aretino's Penitential Psalms were published in 1536; they were reprinted in 1539, and in 1540. Wyatt in all probability received a copy of the second edition through his friend the Venetian Ambassador at the Spanish court; it will be remembered, too, that Aretino wrote to Cromwell in 1539. It was the fashion at that time to paraphrase the Psalms.

[1] See *Libri della Lettere*, ed. 1609. Pietro Aretino. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] State Papers, 1540. Cromwell's "remembrances."

[4] Years after he was a proverbial example of a lashing tongue. Nash, in 1592, writes, "We want an Aretine amongst us that might strip these golden asses" (*Piers Peniles*). See also *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age* (P. Sheavyn).

In December 1539, Wyatt acted as Ambassador Extraordinary to Charles V on his journey to Flanders through France. Marot celebrated the occasion of the Emperor's visit to the French Court by presenting him with his version of the Psalms. When Wyatt returned to England in May 1540 he retired to Allington, and the Psalms were written some time between that date and his imprisonment in January 1541.

The Satires and Psalms are generally grouped together as written at the same time. A closer acquaintance with Wyatt's life makes this improbable. The temper of the Satires is totally different from that of the Psalms. The Satires express the attitude of one who has passed through a phase of discomfort and possible danger, who sets himself to write, when his spirits are at the rebound, his reflections upon his experiences with a certain amount of geniality and flashes of humour. In the Fable of the Town and Country Mouse ("My Mothers Maydes"), for instance, we recognize Wyatt "come to Court," and involved in the luxuries and gaieties of Court life, when suddenly the cat appears, *i.e.* the King's wrath suddenly descends upon the Boleyns, and Wyatt is caught "by the hip." But the Satires express neither fear nor sorrow.

On the other hand, the Psalms were undertaken at the time when he was grieving over Cromwell's fall, blaming himself for his want of success in Spain, and looking forward to his own fall as imminent and inevitable. Moreover, his Lutheran tendencies had become more pronounced during his residence in Spain. Wyatt translates closely six of the seven introductory Prologues. In the earlier stages of the Psalms he translates Aretino, omitting his passages on doctrine; later, when Aretino's paraphrase becomes almost entirely a recapitulation of doctrine, Wyatt follows his own lines and keeps to the simple thoughts of the Psalms.

The following opening sentences from the Prologues of

the Seven Psalms will prove that Aretino [1] was Wyatt's model for the general scheme.

Prologue i.

Standosi Amore a dar legge alle persone gentile ne gli occhi di Bersabe si transformo in uno sguardo crudelmente pietoso, e trapassato al re David prima gli abba glio la vista, poi gli spiro in bocca dal suo veleno . . .

Love to give law unto his subjectes hertes
Stode in the Iyes of Bersabe the bright
And in a loke anon himself convertes
Cruelly pleasaunt before King Davids syght
With venemd breth as softly as he myght.

First Penitential Psalm (*Ps. vi*).

Signore, poi che il tuo nome si lascia proferire dalla mia lingua e da che tu le concedi che ella possa anchor chiamare il Signor suo, il core, che prende felice angusso percio, favorisce la speranza. . . .

(This psalm of ten verses is expanded into ten pages in Aretino's paraphrase.)

O Lord sins in thy mowth thy myghty name
Sufferth it self my lord to name and call
Here hath my hert hope taken by the same.
(Wyatt condenses Aretino's version into 112 lines.)

Prologue ii.

Chi mai ha visto uno infermo subito che egli ha fatto tregua co'l caldo o co'l gelo de gli accidenti suoi. . . .

Who so hath seen the sikk in his fever
After the treux taken with the hot and cold.

Second Penitential Psalm (*Ps. xxxii*).

O beati coloro le cui iniquita per donna Iddio, lasciando le impunite non per le opere de la contritione in della penitentia. . . .

Oh happy are they that have forgyfness got
Of their offence (not by their penitence).[22]

[1] That Wyatt's Psalms should ever have been considered to be due to Bèze is inexplicable. Born in 1519, "Libertin"[23] and writer of "Petits vers galants" (says M. Faguet), it was not until six years after Wyatt's death in 1548 that he turned to Calvin's doctrine, after a serious illness. His Psalms were not the voluble outpourings of a shallow picturesque brain like Aretino's, but were written with a stern and serious purpose. Nott suggested Bèze as the author of Wyatt's method, and other writers merely followed him.

Prologue iii.

Tacquesi David tosto ch' egli hebbe cantato le sopradette parole e in quel santo tacere pareva che il suo silentio ragionasse con la spelunca dove era rinchiuso della pace che havea fatta con Dio. . . .

This song endid David did stint his voyce
And in that while abowte he with his Iye
Did seke the cave w^t^ which w^t^ oute noyse
This silence served to argew and replye.

Third Psalm (*Ps. xxxviii*).

Deh Signore, si come io ti ho pregato e si come ti riprego non mi reprendere nel tuo furore nel quale è posta la eterne damnatione de i rei nella guisa che gli dimostrera lo infermo, ne consentive che la tua misericordia volga le spalle al mio pianto con quello sdegno che alla la volgera al riso di coloro. . . .

O Lord as I the(e) have boeth prayd and pray
Altho in the be no alteration
But that we men like as ourselves we say
Mesuring the justice by our mutation
Chastise me not O Lord in thy furor
Nor me correct in wrathful castigation.

Prologue iv.

[Tosto che David si spedi della terza Canzone] parve un peregrino che misurando con le mente la lunghezza del camino et havendone gia buone parte formito, si arresta alla ombra al cui frisco lo hanno invitato l'aure riprendendo alquanto di quella lena che gli ha tolto la fatica dello andare.

Like as the pilgrim that in a long way
Faynting for hete provokyd by some wind
In some fresh shade lyeth down at mydes of day,
So doth David. . . .

Fourth Psalm (*Ps. li*).

Habbi misericordia di me Iddio non secondo il picciolo mento del mio digiuno del mio orare . . . del mio pianto ma secondo quella tua gran misericordia *con la quale avanzi di grandezza il volto del cielo, il petto de i monti, il seno di mari il grembo della terra i piedi dello abisso, et la mesura de lo immenso.*

Rew on me Lord for thy goodnes and grace
Y^t^ off thy nature art so bountiful
For that goodnes that in the world doeth brace
Repugnant natures.

NOTE.—Here Wyatt follows the idea of the Psalm in touching upon the attributes of God, which Aretino interprets as glory revealed in nature. Wyatt omits all passages of Aretino's nature descriptions.

Prologue v.

Poscia che David hebbe scongiurata la grande misericordia di Dio ad havere misericordia delle colpo suo. Si rimase inginocchioni et temando di non rivedere la imagine del suo peccato . . .

The diepe secrets that David here did sing
Of mercy of faythe of frailte of grace,
Of gods goodnes . . .

Fifth Psalm (*Ps. cii*).

Esaudisci Signore la mia oratione da che tu vedi la contritione del core somma mente contristato del suo haver peccato fa che il mio grido giunga a te . . .

Lord here my prayer and let my crye passe
Unto the Lord withowte impediment . . .

Prologue vi.

Cantato e hebbe David . . . il pentito Re recevette nell' anima una disusata consolatione per cui egli conobbe che Iddio haveva aperta le orecchie al pregar suo . . .

When David had perceyvid in his hert
The Spirit of God returned that was exild.

Sixth Psalm (*Ps. cxxx*).

Dai profondi io ho esclamato a te Signore, Signore esaudisci la oratione mia.

From depths of sin and from a diepe despayre.

Prologue vii.

NOTE.—Wyatt does not follow the Italian in this Prologue, but *substitutes four very fine original stanzas.*

Se mai a Dio furore grate le oratione de i suoi Servi gli fu grata questa di David, per che egli la suelse dal profondo core . . .

This word Redemee that in his mowth did sownd
Did put David it semith unto me
As in a trance to starre upon the grownd
And with his thought the height of hevyn did se.

Seventh Psalm (*Ps. cxliii*).

Signore esaudisci la mia oratione moriti a pieta e riguardo con l'occhio della tuo misericordia il penitentia del cor mio.

Here my prayer O Lord here my request.

The foregoing examples show that Wyatt closely follows

Aretino's method of linking the seven Psalms together by connecting Prologues, the whole forming a dramatic episode. But nothing could be more opposite than Wyatt's manner. As the task proceeds Wyatt follows his original less closely, preferring a simple paraphase which keeps to the spirit of the Psalms rather than the more florid style of Aretino. The Italian continually flies off into the region of Roman Catholic doctrine, which Wyatt, with strong Lutheran tendencies, naturally refused to follow. Aretino, too, gives long descriptions of nature, for example, " Thy hands the heaven did make," in Wyatt's version corresponds to a long dissertation in the Italian of the heavens, sun, moon, and stars, and also the inhabitants of heaven, angels and archangels. On the other hand, Wyatt emphasizes Aretino's method of connecting the Psalms by means of the Prologues, by linking on the Prologue itself to the idea of the *preceding* Psalm, for example, Ps. cxxx ends as follows—

> And shall redeeme all owre iniquite.

The following Prologue begins—

> This word ' redeeme ' y^{t} in his mowth did sownde
> Did put David as it semeth unto me
> As in a trance to starre upon the grownde.

In this trance David prophesies of the " Word " that shall dwell among men. The whole Prologue is original and takes the place of a dissertation on doctrine in the Italian, and is a most striking example of the dignity and beauty of Wyatt's mature style.

Wyatt condenses the Italian version considerably by keeping to the ideas of the Psalms and avoiding Aretino's side tracks. For example, Ps. cii. ll. 13–15, are as follow—

> l. 13. My hert my mynde is witherd up like hay
> l. 14. Becawse I have forgott to take my brede
> l. 15. My brede of lyff the word of truth I say.

At this point Aretino enters upon a long dissertation on the

" brede of lyff." Wyatt, following the idea of the Psalms, continues—

l. 16. And for my playnful sighes and my drede
My bonis my strength my very force of mynde
Clevd to the flesh.

Aretino follows up this idea by a detailed account of the ills of the flesh, but Wyatt proceeds—

l. 20. So made I me the solaine Pelycaine
l. 21. And like the owl . . .

Aretino introduces chatty details on the habits of the pelican; Wyatt keeps close to v. 6 of our Authorized Version. " I am like a pelican of the wilderness, I am like an *owl* of the desert." Aretino continues : " ma si come un *nottola* (*i. e.* bat); " owl " in the Italian is " civetta." Dante uses the word " vespertiglio " (which also means *bat*) in his version.

It seems, then, that Wyatt not only had Aretino's Italian paraphrase as a picturesque model, but he was also working with an English version of the Psalms at his hand. A little later in the same Psalm Wyatt writes—

l. 79. Thou wroughst the erth thy hands thevyns did make
Thei shall perish and thow shalt last alway.

Cf. A.V., v. 25. " Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth : and the heavens are the works of thy hands."

Aretino again inserts a description of the heavens and the inhabitants thereof.

The first Psalm of the series (Ps. vi) follows Aretino more closely than the others. The Italian version is responsible for the temptations described as " mermaydes."

To these mermaydes and their baits of error I stop my eryes.	A l'esche de i loro inganni co'l fiume di questi occhi *Chiudendo le orecchie a le sirene.*

In many passages, Wyatt rises to dignity of utterance and nobility of thought. The passage on Sion (Ps. cii) is very

fine, and especially to be appreciated, because there is an absence of sincerity in the Italian. Single lines can be taken from the Psalms which are full of harmony, for example —

> Let him the hath parfaict intelligens,
> Joy and rejoyce I say ye that be just.

Aretino concludes with an epilogue telling how David went back to rule his people, and further dwells upon the sin of breaking the sixth and seventh commandments. Wyatt, with a finer artistic sense, concludes with the idea of the Psalm (cxliii), dwelling upon forgiveness.

> Thou hast fordone the gret iniquite
> That vexd my sowle thou also shalt confownd
> My foos O Lord for thy benignite
> For thine ame I thy servaunt ay most bownd.

There is a certain quaintness in the last lines. At the time of writing Wyatt was harassed by enemies on all sides, and each day was expecting to be arrested. The concluding line is the usual epistolary ending of the day. A letter of Wyatt's (Cott. MS. F xiii. f. 160) in the British Museum ends—

> Yr Lordshyppes alway
> Most bownden
> Thos Wiat.

The Psalms deserve more recognition. The Satires have been justly praised, but they are fine translations from a worthy model. The Psalms show more originality ; the finer passages, the sincerity and moral fervour are sought for in vain in the Italian version, and for this reason Wyatt's Psalms claim a higher, or at least as high a place, as the Satires. The metre is certainly more harsh in the Psalms; they show signs of haste, whereas the Satires appear in the E MS. as fair copies, revised and corrected by Wyatt. His imprisonment followed closely upon the writing of the Psalms (1541), and immediately upon his liberation he was called to arduous public service and suddenly died when

on a diplomatic mission (1542), so that his last and his best work was left unrevised.

Two other sources have been traced. *Serafino* is responsible for another of the poems. The "Canzone de la Patientia,"[1] beginning—

> Patientia alla malora
> Poi che vol cosi fortune.
> *Collezione di operi inedite*, Bologna, 1896.

evidently gave Wyatt an opening for the poem—

> Patience of all my smart
> for Fortune is turnd aside.

Ludovici Ariosto supplied the source of two epigrams; he is also, I think, responsible for a striking expression in the poem "Sins you will nedes."

> Such hammers work within my hed
> That sound nought els unto my eris.

Surrey repeated the metaphor in his Elegy on Wyatt (stanza ii)—

> A head where wisdom's mysteries did frame
> Whose hammers still beat in that lively brain
> As on a stithy. . .

Now Ariosto's comedy, *Gli suppositi*, was written in prose in 1509. Ten years later he was persuaded to put it into verse form, and it was acted before Leo X with great magnificence at Rome in the presence of 10,000 people. In this version, but *absent in the prose editions*,[2] occurs the following sentence—

> Tutto e tornato bizarro e fantastico
> Tanto martello ha che creppo.

Gascoigne translated (ed. 1566) "He hath so many hammers in his head that his brains are ready to burst." When Wyatt was in Italy he must have seen the verse form of

[1] New source.

[2] See *Gli suppositi*, ed. by Cunliffe, 1904, where parallel versions of the prose and verse editions are given.

the comedy acted, and this expression impressed itself on his memory.

In conclusion, Italian influence may be traced in Wyatt's poems from the time of his visit to Italy (1527) until the beginning of 1541. There are distinct periods of activity. (1) Translations of Petrarch into rondeau and sonnet form, followed by study of Serafino and translation in the form of ottava rima. This occupied his leisure moments at Calais, 1528–32. It is highly probable that during these years he had Trissino's *Poetica* as a text-book of prosody, as well as Pynson's *Chaucer* for a guide.

The second Court period, 1533–6, is marked by a considerable number of lyrics, with scarcely any work in foreign models, but after his imprisonment, May 1536, he took (2) Alamanni for his model and wrote satires in terza rima. (3) In Spain 1537–9, his pieces include an occasional translation such as "So Feble is the threde," written "owte of Spain." (4) In 1540 Aretino's "Sette Salmi della Penitentia" provided him with a model for the framework of the Psalms.

During these years, 1527–40, Wyatt's translations show a considerable range of reading in Italian poets. Besides his principal model, Petrarch, whom he had doubtless studied from his boyhood, he read Trissino, Tibaldeo, Filosseno, Romanello, and perhaps Giusto di Conti, Sannazaro, Ariosto, and Alamanni. These writers, with the exception of Sannazaro and Ariosto, belong to the Quattrocento. Wyatt's only imitation of Sannazaro is the translation of the most conceited sonnet in his work, a sonnet that, were we unacquainted with the rest of his writings, would degrade him to the level of the Quattrocento writers. As a matter of fact, it was the publication of his works in 1533 (after his death) that set forth new aims in Italian poetry. Wyatt's poetical instincts were opposed to nature in poetry, and for this reason, perhaps, the pastoral was

distasteful to him. It is a very striking characteristic in him that he invariably passes over all nature descriptions, from the first translation of the madrigal "Or Vedi Amor" to Aretino's long descriptions in the Psalms.

In one respect he kept in touch with contemporary Italian poets—*in his use of ottava rima.*[1] His most regular metrical achievements and some of his finest thoughts are found in his epigrams written in ottava rima, at the time when Poliziano burnished and Ariosto finally perfected this form in Italian, and he used this measure for some of his last original pieces.

It is well to turn from Wyatt's earlier translations of Petrarch, where the English versions miss all the subtle beauty of the Italian harmonies, to his Satires and Psalms. Comparing these with the originals, it will be seen how he has gained in vigour, in originality, and in grip of language. Here he displays a reserve force of poetic energy, in terse, strong, incisive language, and a power of thought which augured well for future work.

Wyatt's great work arising from Italian influence was the introduction of the three Italian forms, the sonnet, ottava rima, and terza rima, forms which J. A. Symonds regards as originating amongst Italian writers, while the more elaborate canzone, ballata, sestina, hailed from Provence. It is rash, however, to describe the sonnet as Italian in origin; the question has not yet been decided; the name "sonnet," moreover, was applied to poems whose length was by no means confined to fourteen lines.[2] With the Elizabethans the sonnet started upon a career which has scarcely been interrupted up to the present day.

Ottava rima had a considerable vogue during the sixteenth

[1] Cf. the work of his Spanish contemporary Mendoza, *Obras poeticas*, ed. W. J. Knapp, 1877.

[2] A poem in the E MS. f. 8, entitled "To hiz bedde," is marked "sonet," and consists of eight lines, a b a b b a c c.

and seventeenth centuries. Spenser's "Muiopotmos" and "Virgil's Gnat" are composed in ottava rima. Daniel employed it for the *Civil Wars*, Drayton for the *Barons' War;* Stirling, Crashaw, and Gay used it. Drummond and Jonson were not partial to the form, but used an octave stanza a b a b c c d d, and the eighteenth century occasionally produced an octave stanza in couplets. Terza rima never took root in English soil, but with the dawn of the Romantic period and the attention to lyrical forms in the nineteenth century, terza rima has been employed with extraordinary success. If nothing else in this measure had been written, Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" would have secured for it imperishable fame, while his magnificent fragment of the "Triumph of Life" shows not only a complete mastery of terza rima but a conception of its power unequalled by any Italian since Dante.[1] William Morris's "Defence of Guinevere," Swinburne's "Century of Roundels," and Browning's short-metred terza rima in the "Statue and the Bust," all show in different ways what beauty may be got out of this form in English verse.

There is hardly anything more suggestive in literary history than Wyatt's progress seen in his imitation of Italian authors. When studying Petrarch he is like a cripple leaning heavily on crutches, but he gradually and surely progresses, becoming more original as he grows more confident, until arriving at the Psalms we see that he can stand alone. In the Psalms Wyatt attained to maturity in style and thought; his early death prevented the culmination of his power, of which the Psalms is an earnest. Had he lived one might have expected from him powerful, fervent, serious utterances such as Donne's sermons. His last few poems reveal

> Great thoughts grave thoughts thoughts lasting to the end.

[1] A discussion of the possibilities of terza rima is impossible here; the comparison of Dante with succeeding writers is a fruitful subject of interest.

CHAPTER X

THE COURT POEMS AND ORIGINAL COMPOSITIONS

THE Court poems include the greater number of Wyatt's songs, and are chiefly found in the D MS. They were written in hours of ease for the purpose of providing amusement for Henry VIII, and sung to music. Cornysshe and Fairfax were constantly at Court,[1] and the "Royal Appendix" and "King Henry VIII's Song Book" in the British Museum give copious examples of the musical compositions for court songs by these and other musicians. Cornysshe set "Hey Joly Robyn"[2] to music. This song is an example of the nature of some of these lyrics. They were evidently derived from songs or Court carols of a much earlier date; snatches of such songs had been handed down, and Wyatt and the other versifiers of the early sixteenth century crystallized them into the forms in which they have survived.

It is important to remember that in the early stage of Wyatt's career music and verse is indissolubly connected; snatches of verse were handed down in snatches of song and often formed the refrain or the opening words of a new song.[3] Examples of such introductory stanzas may be seen in the two songs: "How shuld I" and "In Most Mischeffe."

[1] Calendar of State Papers.

[2] The setting by Cornysshe is now in the British Museum. See the accompanying facsimile produced for this chapter. That "Hey Joly Robyn" was popular and widely known is seen by the fact that it is included in Percy's *Reliques*, and is sung by the clown in *Twelfth Night*, IV. ii. 70 *et seq.* Another poem in the Percy collection has the refrain "Hey Joly Jenkins," and is interesting as surviving in our day in the Drinking Song in Sullivan's opera, *Ivanhoe*.

[3] See Gaston Paris and Jeanroy on this question.

They form the opening lines to a *chanson-à-personages*. Such songs are survivals of a certain class of French mediæval lyrics, where a "complaynte" is made by a young wife, or (a later development) a love plaint is uttered by a man. Both kinds are found in the early sixteenth century song books.

(1) In King Henry's Song Book—

The other day
I herd a may
Right grevously complayne.

(2) In the Royal Appendix—

This yonder nyght
I herd a wyght
Most grevously complayne.

Wyatt's song "How shuld I" continues—

Not long agoo
it chauncyd soo
As I did walk alone
I herd a man
that now and than
Himself thus did bemone.

The origin of these songs may be seen in the French thirteenth and fourteenth century lyrics [1] beginning—

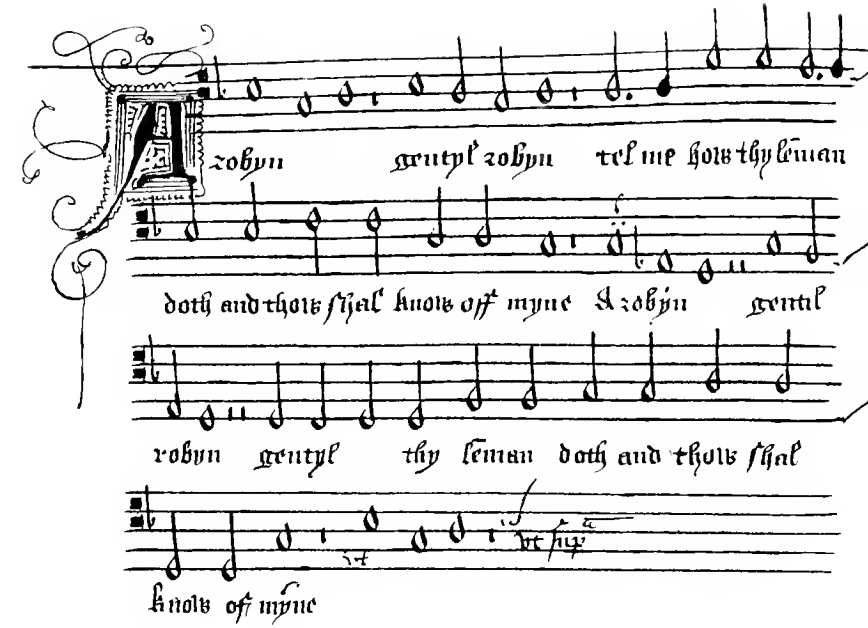
L'autrier (or L'autre Jor) Chevauchai.

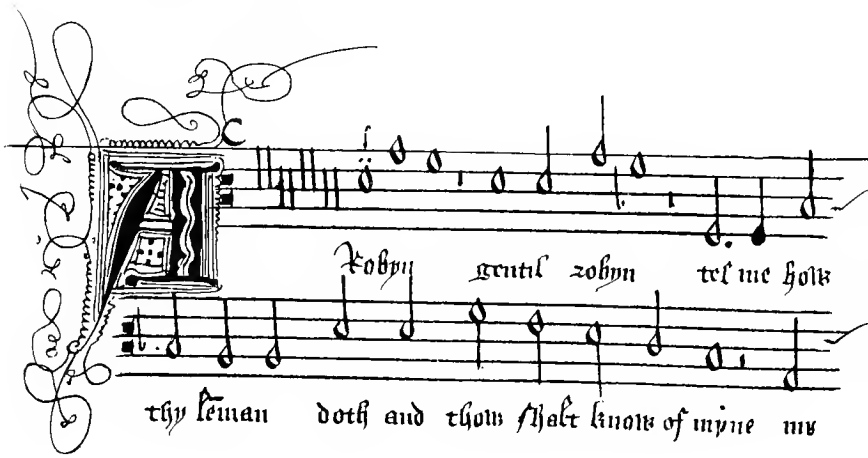
They were introduced into England and were adapted to sacred and secular subjects. In the Percy Collection, No. 10, a hymn to the Virgin begins—

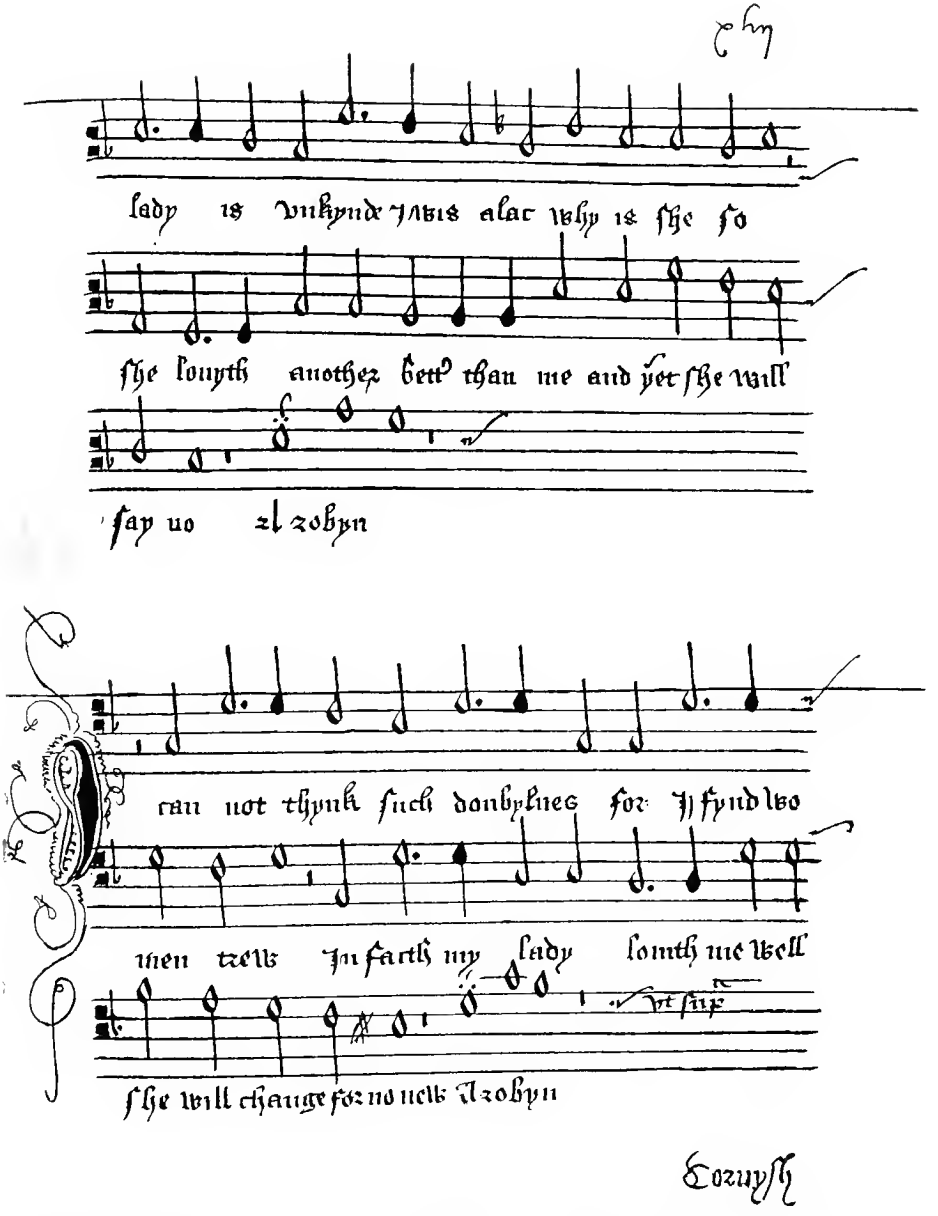
Thys endris nygth
I saw a sygth
A starre as bryght as day
And ever among
A mayden sung
Lully by by lullay.

Another poem in the D MS., "I love lovyd and so doeth

[1] *Les Origines de la Poesie Lyrique en France.* Jeanroy. *ibid.* Lais du xiii[e] s. *Esquisse Historique du Moyen Age.* Gaston Paris.


robyn gentyl robyn tel me hols thy lemman
doth and thols shal knols off myne A robyn gentil
robyn gentyl thy lemman doth and thols shal
knols off myne


Robyn gentil robyn tel me hols
thy lemman doth and thou shalt knols of myne my



transcription from the Song Book of Henry VIII. Add 31922. British Museum.

she," has a parallel in the Fairfax MS., "I love lovyd and lovyd wold I be." Thus Wyatt made use of a common stock of materials and certain forms dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Several songs in Wyatt's collection seem to be derived from the songs of chivalry; these were of later date than the *chansons-d-personages*.

Fortune is personified as "my lady"; two examples in Wyatt are—

Ons methought Fortune me kyssed.

and

They flee from me that sometyme did me seke.[1]

Refrains.

A large proportion of Wyatt's songs have refrains. His musical ear and his skill on the lute account for this partiality. It will be remembered that Wyatt's first exercise in translating Petrarch was in the form of a rondeau,[2] and although he was the first to use it in English verse, it was not unknown at Court.[3] The first rondeau, "What no perdy" (1526), in octosyllables, was written before Wyatt went to France. It is original and one of the first songs expressing genuine feeling. It is addressed "To my ——"; the name is carefully omitted, but events that happened about the time that the poem was written justify the insertion of "wife" in the blank space. The last rondeau is probably original.[4] It is the most realistic poem in the collection, and is generally supposed to be addressed to Anne Boleyn. There are

[1] See Padelford. Introduction *Sixteenth Century Lyrics*.

[2] Gaston Paris describes the rondeau as follows: "Le Rondeau est courte pièce dont certains vers se répètent et que tire son origine des chansons de danse plus anciennes." The long vogue of the rondeau in France, and the connection between the French and English Courts preclude the possibility that the Rondeau form was unknown.

[3] Charles d'Orleans (d. 1466) is said to have written rondels in English during his captivity in England. "Go forth my hert," quoted in *Ballads and Rondeaus*, Introduction xxxv, has a sixteenth-century air about it and recalls Wyatt's verses.

[4] "Ye olde Mule." E. MS., f. 43.

indications (in poems written about 1532–3) of relief on account of the severance of a former intimacy, which in all probability refers to Anne Boleyn, whose character greatly deteriorated between the years 1526-33. There is consequently a certain point in the refrain of another song—

Spyte of my hap, hap hath well happed.

And in the following—

And now I folow the *coles that be quent*
From Dover to Calesse *agaynst my mynde.*

The earlier Court poems were written in eights or in fours. There is an early example of six-syllable line stanzas, but all the more complex forms are found amongst the late Court poems, 1533–6.

Wyatt had matured in thought, and become skilled in metrical forms; in this period he shows much ingenuity in combining verses of different lengths, and in the reproduction of fourteenth and fifteenth century lyrical forms.

Three poems in the D MS. have introductory couplets which serve sometimes as refrains—

(*a*) Payne of all paynes and most grevous payne
Is to love and cannot be lovyd agayne—

The poem is in Troilus measure; a parallel to this is to be seen in the Percy Collection, No. 58.[1]

A second poem beginning—

(*b*) Grudge on who lyst this is my lott
Never to want if itt want nott.

is followed by quatrains with refrain, "if itt want nott," after every stanza; the couplet is repeated after every second stanza.

A third example (*c*) is in quatrains, with the last half line of the introductory couplet repeated after every stanza.

[1] No. 58, A Christmas court carol.

Examples of (*b*) and (*c*) are to be seen in Nos. 18,[1] 23, 24, and 32 in the Percy Collection.

Nott attributed Wyatt's poems with introductory couplets to a Spanish form of verse ; but it is evident, from the examples in the Percy Collection, that they were well-known English forms. Had they been new forms on a foreign model, Wyatt would certainly have included them in the E MS.

Wyatt occasionally writes in monorhymed triplets and quatrains ; both kinds are found in the Percy Collection. The first poem in the D MS., " Take hede betyme," is in triplets monorhymed, with refrain " Therefore take hede."

The basis for the Court poems is the common measure 8, 6. When he became more skilful he employed a variety of combinations. He made a stanza 4 4 6, 4 4 6 out of the common measure by employing internal rhyme. Again, by combining the 4 4 6 into one line, he arrived at the *fourteener*. This line was not unknown. It is found in a tentative fashion in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, and in the " Tale of Gamelyn." The famous E.I. poem assigned to Richard Rolle, and found in a MS. which is not later than 1440, is the best example of a regular fourteener. Wyatt combined the fourteener with a line of double sixes, and thus originated the Poulter's measure, which became the staple form of verse from Wyatt's death until the Shakespearean Age.[2]

For the name " Poulter's Measure " we have Gascoigne's authority in the " Notes of Instructions." A noticeable feature of Wyatt's use of this measure is that regularity is observed. Being built up from a divided eight and a six for the longer line, and a double six for the shorter line, it

[1] Examples from Percy Collection, No. 18: " I hold him wise and well y taught Can bar a horn and blow it naught." (Repeating last line after every stanza.)

[2] Chapman divested the fourteener of its dulness and monotony in the *Iliad*. Examples of fourteeners occur in the early comedies of Shakespeare. See *History of Prosody*. Saintsbury. Vol. ii, pp. 15–16.

scarcely ever swerves from the correct number of syllables,[1] and the pause in the middle of the eight and at the end of the six, for example—

> So feble is the thred || that doeth the burden stay
> Of my powre lyff | in hevy plyght | that falleth in dekay—

and so throughout this poem. The "Song of Iopas" presents a few examples of Wyatt's characteristic freedom (see chapter iv, p. 24), but is on the whole regular.

Poulter's measure is probably Wyatt's last innovation in metre, and was written in Spain about 1537.

Written also in Spain, and about the same time as "So feble is the thred," is the interesting trilogy of poems, which occur only in the E MS. It is written in the short lines that, compounded, form the Poulter's measure, and is in stanza form, with the fourteener twice repeated, thus—

6 6 4 4 6 4 4 6
a a, b b a, b b a

Each part of the trilogy contains five stanzas; every stanza in each of the three parts discusses a certain point. The whole poem is a debate,[2] and each part takes up and discusses a certain view. That the three parts form *one* poem will be seen by a glance at the first lines.

	Part I.	*Part II.*	*Part III.*
St. i.	Lo what it is to love	Leve thus to slaunder love	Who most doeth slaunder love
St. ii.	Fle alwayes from the snare	Fle not so much the snare	Ye graunt it is a snare
St. iii.	To love and to be wyse	To love and not to be wyse	To love and to be wyse
St. iv.	Such ar the dyvers throes	Such be the plesaunt dayes	Of all such pleasaunt dayes
St. v.	Love is a fervent fyre	Love is a pleasaunt fyre	Such fyre and such hete

[1] Poulter's measure undoubtedly set the fashion for regular lines with alternate weak and strong stresses which was extended to the ten-syllable line.

[2] Another poem of the *débat* class is "Most wretched hert most miserable." It might be termed the "Two Voices." (See chap. vii.)

The *débat* turns on the question whether love be true or false. The first part abuses love and says that it is impossible to be wise and love; the second part defends it on the ground that it is not love but base desire that is evil; part three sums up the matter; he who abuses love has acted unworthily and therefore has not experienced love at all, but he who really loves is true of heart, and will therefore never slander love.[1] The saying " To be wise in love is impossible " seems to have been a popular adage; it is found in the Ashmolean MS., a collection of poems written in Mary's reign. It is also found as Wylly's " Emblem " in the Shepherd's Calendar for March—

> To be wise and eke to love
> Is grauntyd scarce to Gods above.

It is quite possible that Spenser was indebted to Wyatt's poem for this remark. Certain it is that the first part travelled far afield and finally made its way into the Ballantyne MS. as one of Alexander Scott's pieces.[2] Now the Ballantyne MS. is a collection made by a certain George Ballantyne in 1568, and is the only source of Alexander Scott's poems. The earliest date assigned to Scott's birth is 1525, and the earliest known date of his poems is 1547, five years after Wyatt's death. Wyatt wrote the trilogy some time between 1537–9, when Scott was but fourteen years of age. The fact that the poem occurs only in Wyatt's autograph MS. and that the poem assigned to Alexander Scott is part of the trilogy duly signed and corrected by Wyatt is sufficient proof that it was Wyatt's production.[3]

[1] The idea comes out later in Raleigh's lovely little stanza—

> But true love is a durable fyre
> In the mind ever burning
> Never sick never old never dead
> From itself never turning.—*Courtly Poets.* J. Hannah.

[2] Alexander Scott's Poem, S. T. S. See also Oxford Book of English verse.

[3] Another of Wyatt's poems, " My lute awake," was erroneously assigned to G. Boleyn, by T. Park.

Scott is supposed to have visited England (*vide* Memoirs in the Scott. Text. Soc. ed. of his poems), and there he may have heard the first part, or seen a copy of it, which he transcribed *into his own dialect*. Later it was inserted in the Ballantyne MS. with other poems known to be his, with the result that part of Wyatt's trilogy has been erroneously attributed to Scott in the Scott. Text. Society's edition, and in the Oxford Book of Verse.

Two poems may be quoted as examples of skilful combinations of lines, "Ys yt possyble" and "If with complaynte the payne myght be expressed." "Ys yt possyble" forms the opening and closing refrain to a stanza consisting of a monorhymed triplet containing three, four and five feet respectively thus—

Ys yt possyble[1]
That so hygh debate
So sharp so sore and of such rate
Shuld end so soon that was begun so late
Ys yt possyble.

"If with complaynte" has a similar metrical scheme but in reverse order, and the first and last line of every stanza is decasyllabic, thus 10 10 8 8 6 10.

The most complicated form of metre used by Wyatt is the treizaine; there are two examples: "If in the world" and "Ye know my hert my lady dere." The scheme of the latter is a b a b b, c a, d e d e, c c. The first five lines follow Troilus measure, the sixth line introduces a new rhyme, but is connected with the foregoing lines by the seventh, which rhymes with the first and third; then follows a quatrain with two new rhymes d e d e, and the concluding couplet rhymes with the sixth line; in this manner the treizaine is carefully welded into one stanza. For development of skill in form this treizaine should be compared with the douzaine, "Madame withowten many wordes," which

[1] Here Wyatt seems to be following Dante's treatise, II. § 5, trans. by Trissino (pub. 1529).

is merely three quatrains run together. (See chap. viii, p. 67.)

Two epigrams, classed among Wyatt's original pieces, show, I think, a certain indebtedness to Skelton,—"She sat and sowed" and "Who hath herd." The idea is found in *Philip Sparow*, written in the "jagged" metre and containing a delicious element of graceful humour rarely seen in his other poems, which are generally of a somewhat saturnine nature. Skelton's lines are as follow—

"I toke my *sampler ones*
Of purpose for the nones
To sow in stiches of silke
My sparow white as milke
But when I was sowing his beke
Me thought my sparow did speke
And open his pretty bill
Saying maid ye are in will
Again me for to kill
Ye prick me in the hed
With that my *nedle were red*
Methought of Philip's blode
Mine here right upstode."

It must be confessed that all the dainty charm has disappeared in Wyatt's stiff little courtly poem. Skelton's lines are brimming over with life and sparkle with humour; Wyatt's merely express a conceit, but show his mastery over the decasyllable in metre, language, and end rhyme.

She sat and sowed that hath done me the wrong
Whereof I playne: and have done many a day,
And whilst she herd my plaint in piteous song
Wished my hert the sampler as it lay.
The blynd maister whom I have served so long
Grudging to here that he did here her say,
Made her owne wepon do her fynger blede
To fele if pricking were so good indede.

Wyatt's humour, in fact, rarely enters into his poetry, although he was regarded as a great wit by his contem-

poraries. "Wiat" and "A Wit" are synonymous.[1] There are, however, occasional gleams; for example in the merry little poem, "Take hede betyme lest ye be spyde," and "Ther was never nothing more me payned"; but the best example is seen in the satire, "My motheres maydes." The reason, perhaps, lies in the fact that Wyatt was a Court poet, and the fashion for Court songs was "complayntes" and love-lorn dirges, or quaint little poems dealing with conceits. His more important work was undertaken in a very serious frame of mind, with the aim of giving to English verse the metre and the form of Italian masters of letters.

But at times Wyatt shakes off the stiffness, ceases from his toil in foreign writers, and "looks into his own heart" and writes. The result is a handful of lyrics[2] which will for ever hold their own in any anthology, and may successfully compete with the best productions of the Elizabethans. Such, for example, as—

"What shuld I say."
"Forget not yet the tryde intent."
"My lute awake perfourm the last."
"To seke eche where where man doeth lyve."
"Ye know my hert my lady dere."
"And if an Iye may save or sleye."
"Ys yt possyble."

Certain of the lyrics written on the way to Spain or in Spain were never inserted in the D MS. Such are "Though this (the) port," "And if an Iye," "Lo what it is to love," and "Tagus Farewell."

Original Poems written 1539–42.

Certain poems connected with incidents of Wyatt's last years are absent from the E and D MSS., but are found in the P or the Harl. MSS., as well as in Tottel. "Luckes

[1] See Fuller's *Worthies*. "Thomas Wyatt."

[2] Courthope (*History of English Poetry*, vol. ii, p. 51) has said the last word of appreciation of Wyatt in his brilliant summing up of this author's work, especially in connection with the lyrics.

my faire falcon," written before his imprisonment; "Sighes ar my fode," written in prison, and others written 1541–2. The best of these poems, in epigram form, is "A face that shuld content me." [1]

A face that shuld content me wondrous well
Should not be fayre but lovelye to behold,
With gladsome chere all greffe for to dispel;
With sober lokes so wold I that it shuld
Speke without wordes, such wordes as non can tell.
The tress also shuld be of crispid gold
With wit; and thus myght chaunce I myght be tyed
And knytt agayne the knott that shuld not slyde.

It has been noticed that Wyatt never wrote descriptions of the lady; this is one of the reasons for refuting the argument that the love poems express Wyatt's love affairs. It is all the more interesting that Wyatt writes his ideal of a woman at the end of his life, but keeps to his plan of avoiding description of the externals. The only exception is the colour of the hair, which must be "crispid gold." Wyatt was fond of the epithet; it occurs in "So feble is the threde" (l. 69)—

The *crispid gold* that doth surmount Apollo's pryde,

and in the Song of Iopas (l. 4)—

With crispid locks on golden harp
Iopas sang in his song.

It is possible that Wyatt was mentally comparing this ideal lady with the former friend, Anne Boleyn, for whom later he had experienced a revulsion of feeling. Her hair was dark and luxuriant. In another place he alludes to this dark lady as having been replaced in his affections by a fair lady—

Sure sins I did refrain
Brunet that set my *country in a rore* [2]

[1] Wyatt's spelling is used here.

[2] "*That set my country in a rore.*" These words were crossed out in the E MS. for "my welth in such a rore." There is no doubt that they referred to Anne Boleyn.

> The unfayned cher of Phyllis hath the place
> That Brunet had.

These later poems suggesting a new love express a genuine sentiment, and it is possible that "Phyllis," the object of his affection, was the friend of his later years, Mary, Duchess of Richmond, the owner of the D MS. (See Appendix A.)

One more poem needs mention. It is found only in Tottel, "Speke thou and spede." It is too closely packed with thought for Tottel's usual emendations of small padding words, and may be taken as Wyatt's version. It is a six-lined stanza in decasyllabic couplets, and the dignity of language and its epigrammatic style mark it as one of the last poems.

> Speke thou and spede || where will or powre ought helpeth,
> Where powre doeth want || will must be won by welth;
> For nede will spede || where will works not his kynde,
> And gayne, || thy foos thy frendes || shall cause thee fynde.
> For sute and gold || what do they not obtayne?
> Of good and bad || the tryers are these twayne.

The most striking thing about it is the epigrammatic force and the finish of the couplet. The form is rare until the end of the sixteenth century; in the seventeenth century it hovers between the stopped couplet (cf. Sir John Beaumont's couplets "To the Late King") and the enjambed couplet (cf. Chamberlayne's "Pharronida").[1] The force and finish of "Speke thou and spede" that would have earned the praise of Boileau, seems an anomaly in Wyatt; but his metrical style is discernible in the strong initial stress of the first line, the stress following the cæsura in the second line, and the freedom of the cæsura in the fourth line, freedoms that would not have been tolerated in the strict "classical" couplet.

Poulter's measure, the later epigrams, and the couplets quoted above, prove that Wyatt could be perfectly regular

[1] See Chambers' *Poets*, sixteenth century.

when he chose. In certain styles, the Satires and Psalms, and much of his other decasyllabic verse, he is irregular through preference, and after his first efforts with the glaring faults due to want of skill, he settles down consciously to a line of five feet with certain freedoms—trisyllabic feet, inverted stresses, absence of weak stresses, and slurred syllables. It is quite clear that in his rugged style, the style of his more important poems, he was taking a certain path, a path trodden in certain respects by Milton (slurred syllables and inverted stresses) and Shakespeare (absence of weak stresses). Wyatt was groping towards that mighty period which comes out in Milton's and Shakespeare's verse by means of enjambement. On the other hand, the lyrics of the D MS., the late epigrams, and Poulter's measure are proofs that Wyatt had an ear for harmony, and an eye for correct form. He did not, like the Pléiade in France, a few years later, scorn the older forms of poetry and drive them out to make way for the new. Between the periods of work at new forms, he deliberately revived old forms that had circulated during the fifteenth century, and the lyrics of the D MS. connect the fifteenth-century lyrics with the sixteenth century, while one or two poems, notably "Hey Joly Robyn," have all the freshness and simplicity of the popular lyric.

Wyatt's tendency throughout seems to have been the study of English and foreign forms of verse side by side. It is highly probable that while he was studying the various English lyrical forms, he had a strong incentive in Trissino's translation of Dante's treatise on poetry, and Trissino's *Poetica*, published together in 1529. The *Poetica* is fully illustrated with signs and symbols to express different metrical forms and stanzas. Sixteenth-century poets owe far more to these publications than has been hitherto thought. The various lyrical forms used by the Pléiade make one strongly suspect that the *Poetica* was their text-

book of prosody. Dante's remarks on the combinations of three, five, and seven-syllable lines bore fruit in the famous "Avril" chanson; but we must ascribe to Wyatt the honour of the first English imitation of the great Italian[1] in the combination of fives and tens in the poem—

"Is yt possyble."

[1] Dante, *De vulg. eloq.* II. xii, and canzone xix, *Poscia ch'Amor.*

CHAPTER XI

CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

We have Leland's authority that Wyatt was a good Latin scholar. He also knew some Greek. Richard Croke became the first Greek official [1] professor at Cambridge, 1518–19, at the time that Wyatt was at St. John's. In later years he studied Plato, for he writes—

> Senec and Plato call me from thy lore. (Sonnets.)

Croke edited Ausonius; Wyatt translated one of the epigrams in the poem "For shamefast harm." The Latin of Ausonius is derived from Plato, so that it is an open question whether Wyatt's model was Latin or Greek.

Very little classical influence can be traced in his poems, for the obvious reason that when he was not translating from the Italian, or influenced by French writers, he was writing light Court songs. After 1536 he turned to the study of moral philosophy. Two of the Satires are founded on Horace, and the ending of the second Satire, "But to the great God," is modelled on the lines of Perseus.

Wyatt mentions Epictetus and Seneca in the letters to his son: "It is no small help . . . the study of moral philosophers among whom I would that Seneca be your study, and Epictetus, because it is so little to be ever in your bosom." His last translations were Seneca's *Thyestes*, "Stond whoso lyst upon the slipper top," and a passage

[1] Erasmus had lectured unofficially as early as 1511. (See *Hist. of Camb. Univ.* Bass Mullinger.) Every student at that time was obliged to pay a small fee for learning Greek, "for," says Erasmus in one of his letters, "if they do not attend they ought to do so."

of the Boethius, "If thow wilt myghty be," written 1541–2.

The latter part of Wyatt's career was saddened by many troubles and anxieties; matured and aged before his time, as his portrait shows us, it is natural that he should turn from the restless spirits of the Renaissance to a more contemplative view of life. Having experienced the varying fortunes of a public career, he emerged without bitterness of spirit, and the calm and dignified utterances of his last poems show that he had at length reached a plane from whence he surveyed the exigencies of life with equable demeanour, without fear, and without irritation.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made to set forth the importance of Wyatt's text in the E MS., the special interest of the D MS., and the influences affecting his poetry.

There are no indications in the E MS. to justify the metrical alterations made in the A MS. and in Tottel, and there are certain textual weaknesses in A and T.

Wyatt's system of versification suggested a model. One has been found in Pynson's 1526 edition of Chaucer. The first few lines of the Prologue offered examples of Wyatt's style. A careful comparison of Wyatt's text with that of the 1526 Chaucer brought to light the fact that every rule followed and every freedom allowed by him was traced to this edition.

Irregular lines in the 1526 edition by the omission of a weak syllable are supported by the MSS.; for example, the line—

hath in the Ram|hálf his cóurs yrónne. (See p. 47.)

occurs in the Corpus, Hengwrt, and Landsdowne MSS. It may be inferred that Chaucer allowed the suppression of the weak syllable after the cæsura, as well as initially; such lines as—

Al|bismotered with his habergeon.

and

Twen|ty bokes clad in black and red—

are considered Chaucerian, although Ten Brink[1] urged

[1] Ten Brink's *Chaucer*, iii. § 309 *et seq.* He considers that Chaucer's irregularities were confined to the octosyllabic verse, and that the poet

that such omissions were not intended by Chaucer. The MSS., however, force us to believe that many lines "faile in a sillable," as Chaucer himself tells us. (H. of F. iii. 9.)

Another marked characteristic in Wyatt's verse is the slurring of certain weak syllables, of vowels in juxtaposition, and the regarding of "h" as no letter. Bridges enunciated this rule for Milton's verse. Now, though Wyatt cannot be named with Chaucer and Milton for his poetic ability, he shares with them Italian scholarship, and this fact accounts for certain points in common in their versification.

Wyatt deliberately connected himself with Chaucer in order to re-establish the decasyllabic line; he took the 1526 edition as his guide, and his own natural bias led him to construct his system of versification on the irregularities he discovered. He evolved, instead of the smooth regular line which is normal even in Pynson's edition, a characteristic five-stressed line with trisyllabic feet. This deliberate study of an English model side by side with Petrarch and other Italian authors gives Wyatt a different place in literature. He cannot be said to have struggled on without a guide, for he consciously set before him as a standard the greatest poet England had produced up to that time. Thus he forms a connecting link between Chaucer and the Elizabethan age. Wyatt was long declared to be no follower of Chaucer because superficial likenesses were not obvious. He did not, like Surrey, describe the "sote season"; he was averse to nature descriptions, and had not the grace of language that is Surrey's chief attribute as a poet. But there are touches throughout Wyatt's poems of his appreciation of Chaucer's inherent worth. He shows how thoroughly he knew the *Canterbury Tales*, and the *Troilus*, and indirectly

should not be held responsible for irregularities in heroic verse. A careful study of the new parallel text will prove, I think, that Chaucer "Englished" the decasyllable, and allowed certain freedoms.

he tells us that Chaucer's genius is centred in his power of narrative, in the satirical lines—

> Praise Sir Topas for a noble tale
> And scorn the story that the Knight told.
> (Sat. I.)

The second satire, "My Mothers Maydes," is a deliberate imitation of Chaucer's narrative style.

French influence is not far-reaching but is definite. Several rondeaus, a douzaine and an étrenne were the result of Wyatt's acquaintance with Marot and St. Gelais.

Italian influence pervades his work and extends from 1527–40. Wyatt began with Petrarch and ended with Aretino. Three elements may be seen struggling for life in the earlier poems, the Chaucerian line of Pynson's edition, the Italian hendecasyllabic line, and the Romance accent. Wyatt's natural bias led to his adherence of the rules found in Chaucer, and in his later poems Romance accents are rare, as well as the extra final syllable. Italian influence became crystallized in the slurring of vowels, and certain weak syllables.

A large portion of Wyatt's poems do not attain to the level of good poetry, but his work as a pioneer is of inestimable value. He possessed the necessary equipment—scholarship, perseverance, a strong personality and keen interest in forms of verse—and he accomplished his task more successfully than a poet might have done, gifted with more genius and consequently with less patience. Skelton was far more brilliant but his verse was retrograde rather than progressive.

Wyatt is the builder, not the beautifier. A careful study of the E MS. shows very clearly that his autograph volume is not merely the receptacle for his work in foreign metres, but it is the history *in progressive order* of his struggles with, and his subsequent victory over, the five-stressed line.

There is both external and internal evidence for this statement.

The Satires and Psalms deserve a wider popularity for their noble thought and their vigorous language, but he vindicates his claim to merit in the few lyrics which will always hold their own amongst the most beautiful of the Elizabethan lyrics. Wyatt, though in a lesser degree, has the same elements that compose the muse of Donne and Browning. Like them he wrote tender, graceful, whimsical lyrics; like them, too, he has been censured for his hard and irregular metre. But all three poets wrote in this manner not from incapacity but from choice, and Wyatt possesses with them the power of expressing himself in close-packed thought when he is moved.

Wyatt may be compared with Browning, again, in his cheery outlook of life. Even when in prison, with death staring him in the face (in 1541) he writes to Sir Francis Brian—

> Sure ame I Brian this wound will hele againe.

Among Wyatt's contemporaries, Boscan more nearly resembles him in his work and aims; but Boscan was supported and encouraged by Garcilasso de Vega, the "Philip Sidney" of Spain, by reason of his poetic genius, his grace of character, and his military glory.

Boscan worked at the hendecasyllable [1] while Garcilasso, in the intervals of a short and brilliant public career, wrote eclogues and pastorals after Sannazaro, and sonnets after Petrarch. Wyatt, on the other hand, seems to have had no help from English contemporaries, though he doubtless had friends amongst foreign men of letters, among whom were Ghiberti the Pope's datary, and the Venetian ambassador.

[1] He began to write in *1526* on the advice of Navagiero to replace the old short Castilian metres by the Italian hendecasyllable. Wyatt started his work on the Sonnets and Rondeaus in *1527-8*.

His achievement was amazing, particularly when we consider that his literary work was accomplished in hours snatched from his duties at the English Court or in the diplomatic service.

Wyatt was known to the Elizabethan writers in Tottel's *Miscellany;* its popularity is evident from the number of editions, and it was for that day what *The Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics* is to ours.

Shakespeare's earliest introduction to poetry was probably by means of the "Songs and Sonnets," and in Wyatt's Satires he must have found ideas which many years later appeared in his plays reanimated by his own genius. Such lines as these—

> All tho thy head were howpt with gold;
> Sergaunt with mace, hawbert sword or knyff
> Cannot repulse the care that folow shuld;
> Eche kynde of lyff hath with him his disese—

must have sown seeds which bore fruit, in the speech on ceremony in *Henry V*, iv. 1, and the passage in *Richard II*, III. ii. 160, beginning—

> within the hollow crown
> That rounds the mortal temples of a King.

Shakespeare's characters are so essentially individual that it is difficult and unsafe to suggest that any passage reflects the man Shakespeare. But there is one sentence that we may safely claim as not only expressing a popular sentiment, but as giving voice to his own appreciation, when he places in Slender's mouth the exclamation—

> "I had rather than forty shillings I had my book of Songs and Sonnets here."—(*M. W. W.*, I. l. 179.)

To-day, with all the glories of our literature before us, the "Songs and Sonnets" presents the rather dull and lifeless aspect of poetry immediately preceding the Elizabethan Age. Wyatt's poems lie *between* Surrey's and "Uncertaine Authors," writers who were not only his disciples, but of a

later generation; moreover, Wyatt's methods of versification are obliterated by the editor. Since the Elizabethan Age was made possible by his labours, and the whole burden of establishing the five-foot line fell upon his shoulders, it is but just that we should read Wyatt in the E MS. as he left it, where his metrical scheme is clearly indicated.

APPENDIX A

THE D MS

Dr. Nott first described the D MS. as a curious document of the time of Henry VIII. It was lent him by the Duke of Devonshire and was found in his library after his death. It was eventually bought by the British Museum authorities in 1848. The MS. contains numerous signatures besides Wyatt's poems, and the ownership of the volume has been the subject of much inquiry. Dr. Nott conjectured that it belonged to Margaret Wyatt, the poet's sister, or to Mary Howard, who married the King's son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, because the names " Margaret " and " Madame de Richemont " occur on f. 68a, and the name Margaret is found on a portion of the fly-leaf.

Mr. E. A. Bond (*Athenæum*, May 27, 1871) amplified Dr. Nott's remarks. He showed (i) that the name " Margaret " had three letters " þow " after it; (ii) that the handwriting agreed with that of Margaret Howard; (iii) that the owner of the volume was therefore Margaret Douglas, who married Sir Thomas Howard in 1536, and became the wife of the Earl of Lennox in 1544; (iv) that there are poems by Margaret and Thomas Howard, and the name of Mary Shelton occurs several times.

Mr. Bond conjectured that Mary Shelton was *first owner* of the MS., and that it passed into the possession of Margaret Howard.

Now the cover of the D MS. testifies to other owners, for the central panel of the front cover has the initials M F, and

the back has the letters S E; these are placed side by side, while the initials on the front cover are one above the other. The discovery of the owner of the volume ought to throw light upon these initials.

There are fragments of other signatures on the scrap of vellum preserved as a portion of the original fly-leaf. Besides the names "Margaret How . . ." and "Mary Shelton," which are written carelessly across the vellum, there are portions of distinct signatures at the top of the scrap of vellum. A word "marayge" [1] has immediately below it the letters "H. Ho," below this is another partial signature, "Henr," and a portion of a downward stroke. These two vestiges of signatures are enclosed in the usual form of flourish common at that time. Now these partial signatures ought to reveal the owners of the MS., and give some clue to the letters on the cover, while a conclusive chain of evidence must necessarily include Margaret Howard and Mary Shelton.

Mr. Bond suggested Mary Shelton as the first owner; it will be advisable to deal with her first.

The State Papers give the following facts: Sir John and Lady Shelton were partisans of Anne Boleyn.[2] Sir John was Steward of Princess Elizabeth's household.[3] Lady Shelton, Anne Boleyn's aunt, was "gouvernante" to the "Lady Mary," Catherine of Arragon's child.[4] In 1536 "the daughters" of Lady Shelton [5] are mentioned, but not by name. Margaret Shelton,[6] famous for her beauty, is sent to Court in the same year to attract the King's attention and to divert him from Anne Boleyn's enemies.[7] This Margaret Shelton is described as "marvellous like" [8] Christina, Duchess of Milan, whose portrait of late has attracted so much attention. Mary Shelton is not mentioned; she

[1] Mr. D. T. B. Wood, MS. Dept. Brit. Mus., kindly interpreted this word for me as *marriage*.

[2] State Papers. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.* [8] *Venetian Archives.* 1539.

was probably a younger daughter, but if she were the first owner it must have been before 1536, for in that year Sir Thomas Howard was imprisoned in the Tower, and using the D MS. as a solace to his grief by writing poems to his lady. Now Mary Shelton's name appears in connection with the Howards, and is coupled with Henry Howard's friend Sir John Clere. But Henry Howard was occupied with Henry Fitzroy, the King's son, until after his death in 1536. From 1540–5 Sir John Clere was Henry Howard's companion. They were imprisoned in the Fleet together, and in 1545, when Sir John Clere died from the effects of wounds received while protecting Henry Howard, his friend wrote verses to his memory in which the following line occurs—

Shelton for love, Surrey for Lord thou chase.

Internal evidence from the D MS. furnishes two facts. Mary Shelton's handwriting and that of Sir E. Knyvet (another friend of Clere) occur on the same page, and the only poem in the D MS. by Henry Howard is copied by Mary Shelton.

Available evidence, then, gives the following results. Mary Shelton is not mentioned before 1536. Between 1540–5 she is connected with the Howards and their friends E. Knyvet and Sir J. Clere. Knyvet and Clere are first mentioned in the State Papers, 1541. Sir J. Clere was the friend and companion of H. Howard, 1540–5. Surrey wrote the sonnet, mentioning Shelton, in memory of Clere, 1545. The only poem in the MS. by Lord Howard, and certainly written after 1536, was inserted by Mary Shelton. It is clear then that Mary's part in the MS. is 1540–4, and she is therefore *not* the first owner. The partial signatures on the upper part of the scrap of fly-leaf ought to reveal some clue to the ownership. Let us take the first name, H. Ho. In 1526 Henry Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk, was eight years of age. He had received a careful education[1]

[1] *Deux Gentilshommes poètes.* Bapst.

under the tutelage of John Cheke. Henry was early celebrated for his accomplishments; he wrote elegant translations and took pleasure in versification while still a child. His fondness for verse was partly inherited from his relations, Bourchier, Lord Berners; Parker, Lord Morley; Strafford, and George Boleyn. The Duke of Norfolk, who held a high position at Court when Wyatt was the leader of the courtly makers, may have presented his son with the D MS. for copying the poems that he brought from court. "ℌ. ℌo." evidently stands for the first owner, Henry Howard; the name is enclosed in the usual form of flourish common to signatures.

In 1529 Henry was chosen to be the companion of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond (son of Henry VIII and Elizabeth Blount), then eleven years of age. They lived at Windsor and shared everything in common. The young prince was studious and thoughtful, delighted in poetry, and played perfectly on the lute.[1] He evidently became joint owner of the D MS., and his name was written below Howard's. "ℌenꝝ" therefore stands for "Henry Fitzroy." A comparison of their signatures in Doyle's Baronage corroborates this theory. Henry Howard's signature has the rounded "ℌ" as here, and that of the prince has an upright letter "ℍ" somewhat after the style of his father's signature. A series of entries was made during the years 1529–32. Such poems as "Hey Joly Robyn" and "And wylt thou leve me thus" were probably copied into the MS. at this time. It is probably due to Fitzroy's love of music and the King's love for his son that some of Wyatt's finest lyrics were inserted at this time and handed down to posterity; for although Wyatt was then absent in Calais, his lyrics circulated in MS. and were sung for the amusement of the Court.

In 1532 Howard and Fitzroy went to France, were received at the Court of Francis I and treated like the King's

[1] *Deux Gentilshommes poètes.* Bapst.

own sons. They returned to England and came to Court in 1533. Anne Boleyn had become Queen. She was anxious to bring about a marriage between Mary Howard, Henry's sister, and Fitzroy, the young Duke of Richmond.[1] The King favoured her wishes, and Mary became Duchess of Richmond, and took precedence with her husband before "all England," [2] and he received all the honours due to the heir-apparent. At this point the clue appears to the mysterious word *marayge* and the signatures. Among Mary's wedding gifts was the little volume of verses presented jointly by her husband and brother; and it is tempting to read the inscription as—

[To Mary
on her]
Marayge
ȳ ȳo
Heny

Before presenting the volume the Duke of Richmond added his wife's initials to the front panel of the cover; thus $\frac{M}{F}$ for Mary Fitzroy. Much is known about Mary from her earliest youth, when the family sat in conclave to decide whether the child (aged two !) should be placed under her brother's tutor for Latin, and decided that "she was yet of tender age and might wait awhile," to the time that she undertook the education of Henry's children after his execution. She was clever and high-spirited, and took the same interest in music and poetry as her brother; in later years she was described as a woman of calm judgment. She became a friend of Wyatt and an admirer of his verse, and under her supervision the large group of poems, f. 69b, was begun. The Court circle included Anne Boleyn, Margaret

[1] *Deux Gentilshommes poètes.* Bapst.
[2] See State Papers, Henry VIII, 1533.

Douglas, the King's niece, Thomas Howard (Henry's uncle), Margaret Shelton, Henry Howard and the Duke of Richmond. Anne Boleyn's connection with the MS. is to be seen in f. 67b in the inscription—

"I am yowres
An"

At the foot of the page f. 69a is a hand badly drawn and the signature "An."

There is a curious connection between the inscription "I am yowres," and the poem "That tyme that mirth did stere my shypp." The last three lines of the first stanza run—

> Then in my bok wrote my mistress
> I am yowres you may well be sure
> And shall be while my life doeth dure.
>
> D MS. f. 17b, st. i, ll. 5–7.

The poem is early and was probably written before 1526, when Wyatt was paying attention to Anne. If the inscription were written by Anne Boleyn, as seems most probable, it was in her "maid of honour" days. Wyatt had quite got over his former penchant for Anne in 1533, but the presence of her writing and this poem in the D MS., suggest the possibility that the volume belonged to Wyatt in the first place.[1] When he went to France in 1526, rather disgusted with life in general, he may have left behind him the volume containing his early poems, which the Duke of Norfolk presented to his son.

Margaret Douglas' handwriting is found on many of the pages containing the large group of poems copied under Mary Fitzroy's supervision. A running commentary is

[1] It is impossible to prove this without further evidence. The MS. was clearly intended for Court poems, in which Wyatt's had a conspicuous place. When it became the property of Mary, Duchess of Richmond, one part was devoted entirely to Wyatt's poems, hence the large group of poems copied consecutively in the same hand, ff. 69–87.

made, denoting her favourite pieces; such comments occur as "Lerne but to syng this," "and thys," "and thys chefly"; but remarks cease after f. 81b, and a break occurs in the MS. The pages preceding are much worn by constant perusal; Lady Margaret's comments are on these pages. When the poems are continued *in the same hand*, the ink is much fresher and the pages quite clean.

Events occurred in 1536[1] which explain this. The Court had hardly recovered from the sudden execution of Anne and George Boleyn and their associates, when it was startled by the news that Sir Thomas Howard had secretly married Margaret Douglas.[2] The King was furious, and vowed heavy punishment on the offenders. Inquiry[3] proved that Sir Thomas Howard had loved the Lady Margaret for a year, that the Duchess of Richmond had lent her support[4] and chaperonage in order that they might meet without suspicion;[5] the lovers had met many times in the presence of the Duchess, but always in the absence of the Lady Boleyn.[6] Margaret had received a champring, while Sir Thomas was in possession of a diamond and a "phisnamye"[7] given to him by Margaret; they were otherwise innocent. Both culprits were sentenced to imprisonment. Cromwell, possibly to abate the King's anger, declared that he had obtained a statement from the lady that "she ceseth to have feelings for that gentleman."[8] Margaret, meanwhile, found means to communicate with Sir Thomas Howard. She engaged the help and sympathy of her friend Mary, Duchess of Richmond, now a widow. Mary must have lent her the D MS. The volume, with Margaret's comments scattered over the pages, and a few verses written by her in pencil, was surreptitiously conveyed to Sir Thomas in the Tower. This explains the worn pages, especially f. 81, which contains the song "Now all of change,"

[1] State Papers, 1536. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.* [8] State Papers.

with Margaret's comment "Lerne but to syng yt." The D MS. itself continues the story.

A series of poems by Sir Thomas Howard occurs in another part of the book. Stanzas of intense hopefulness and assurance that all will be well are followed by verses expressing firmness and unaltered resolve to remain true to Margaret. He speaks of means taken to undermine his resolution by cajolery or cruelty, but the poems always end with loving words to "my none swete wyf." At length privation told upon a frame that was never robust, and his last verses are a cry for death that "his soul may go forth to his ladye."

A brief statement announced Thomas Howard's death in the Tower from ague. Sir J. Wallop wrote to Lord Lisle: "My Lord Thomas died in the Tower 4 days ago of an ague."[1] The event is notified in Wriothesley's Chronicle. "This year, on All Hallowes Eve, the Lord Thomas Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, died in prison in the Tower and his body was carried to Thetford and there buried. Also the Lady Margaret Douglas that had lyen in prison in the Tower of London for love between him and her was pardoned by the King and set agayne at her libertie, howbeit she took his death *very hevelie*." Broken-hearted and desperate verses in the D MS. bear witness to Margaret's grief, and to the truth of Wriothesley's statement.

Henry Howard alludes to the event in the poem, "Each beast may chuse his fere."

> It is not long agoo
> Sith that for love one of the race did end his lyff in woo
> In tower strong and high for his assured troth
> Whereas in teres he spent his breth alas the wo the ruthe.

This outburst of sympathy and indignation from Henry Howard was one of the first links in the chain of events which led him finally to the scaffold ten years later.

Such is the little tragedy which in the purity of its senti-

[1] State Papers, Nov. 3, 1537.

ment sheds a gleam of light upon a time otherwise dark with the ugliness of passion and cruelty, of crime and self-seeking ambition. Margaret resumed her place in Court life, and a few months later was chief mourner at Jane Seymour's funeral.

The following year (1538) the Duchess of Richmond refused to marry one of the Seymours and returned to her father's estate at Kenninghall, Norfolk. She never married again. She had never lived with her young husband, so history calls her the maiden-wife-and-widow in one. It is quite possible that the Duchess of Richmond was the friend of Wyatt's later years, the "Phyllis" that took "the place that Brunet had"; and perhaps the object of Wyatt's lines "A face that shuld content me." Mary was good-looking, clever and accomplished, a sympathetic friend, and high-spirited. She possessed, moreover, a certain dignity and pride due to her birth and her place at Court, though it never degenerated into that insolent haughtiness that caused her brother's ruin.[1] She seems to have settled down to a sincere friendship with Wyatt—the outcome of a warm admiration of his poetic ability which she shared with her brother, Henry Howard, and Wyatt's attractive personality no doubt cemented the friendship. His release in 1541 was due to the efforts of Henry Howard and his sister, the Duchess of Richmond, who besought their aunt, Catherine Howard, then newly crowned, to use her influence for Wyatt's pardon. The King was no doubt glad of the opportunity and pardoned him unconditionally.[2]

In 1541 Margaret Howard obtained permission to live with her friend Mary at Kenninghall. Mary Shelton's

[1] See Bapst for this side of Henry Howard's character.

[2] Reading between the lines it is clear that Henry's reliance upon Wyatt was extraordinary. The machinations of the Council, among whom were his deadly enemies, had procured his imprisonment, but the King caught at the opportunity of pardoning him, and from that time to his death loaded him with honour, and trusted him implicitly.

verses, Sir E. Knyvet's, and other miscellaneous poems were inserted within the next three years. Mary continued the entries of Wyatt's poems which included "So feble is the threde," and parts of the Satires.

In 1544 Lady Margaret was affianced to the Earl of Lennox, and returned to Scotland. Mary must have given the volume of verses to her friend in reminiscence of her life at the English Court, for the next event to notice in the D MS. is the presence of Lord Darnley's verses *in his own handwriting*. Now Lord Darnley was the son of Margaret Lennox (*née* Douglas); she, moreover, was instrumental in bringing about the marriage of her son with Mary Queen of Scots. Lord Darnley was violently in love with Mary, and therefore the verses in the D MS. must have been written for, and given to her, with his mother's approval. Mary Queen of Scots not only delighted in music and poetry, but her ambitions concerning England must have inclined her to look with special favour upon a volume containing the English Court poems. When Mary fled to England after the battle of Langside, she evidently included this volume in her baggage. In connection with this theory her baggage was a constant source of trouble to those who had the charge of her; they grumbled about the *several carts of books*[1] that she insisted upon taking with her whenever her place of residence was changed.

For many years she was placed under the Earl of Shrewsbury's charge. His wife, Elizabeth,[2] was one of the characters of that day; her son, Henry Cavendish, by a former husband, also proved a friend to Mary Queen of Scots, and as a token of gratitude she probably gave them the volume of poems. This theory is corroborated by the Letters S. E. on the back of the book; they stand, I believe, for *Shrewsbury* and his wife *Elizabeth*. It is by no means uncommon for books to bear the names or initials of husband

[1] See Froude. [2] Popularly known as "Bess of Hardwicke."

and wife. A handsomely bound volume[1] in the British Museum, bears the initials H. A. surmounted by a crown and standing for Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. A further proof of the final ownership of the D MS. by Shrewsbury and his wife Elizabeth is the fact that this lady was the founder of the Devonshire Estates in Derbyshire. She outlived three successive husbands, who all left her huge possessions which she employed in building up the fortunes of the Cavendish family. The Devonshire MS. was probably one of the first books to be placed in the Cavendish Library, originally at Hardwicke Hall. Chatsworth, built through her endeavours, became the final resting-place of the treasures that were collected by this family; thus the Devonshire MS. remained after Elizabeth's death apparently untouched until it was unearthed in the early days of the nineteenth century and used by Nott for his edition of Wyatt. It now has a fitting resting-place in the British Museum, after its stirring history.

Internal evidence has thus enabled us to piece together the story of the D MS. by means of external evidence drawn chiefly from the State Papers, Wriothesley's Chronicle, Doyle's Baronage, and Froude's *History of England*. The historical facts corroborate the internal evidence and give clues to the first owners, and to the later owners whose initials are to be found on the covers of the book. In this way Wyatt's life and times open out before us. As we turn over the pages of the D MS. we not only read Wyatt's Court poems, but we are admitted into the very life and atmosphere in which he breathed; the mist of years is dispelled, and we are carried into the presence of gay nobles and Court ladies, and into the most intimate relations of his life and the most thrilling incidents of his day.

[1] Show case, King's Library.

APPENDIX B

SPECIMEN SHEETS OF POEMS

1. Rondeau.	Beholde love.	The earliest example.	*c.* 1527–8
2. Sonet.	The long love.	Earliest example.	*c.* 1527–8
3. Sonet.	Ye that in love.	Probably written in Spain.	1537–9
4. Epigram.	Alas Madame.	Middle period.	1533–6

1. RONDEAU

Beholde Love thy power how shee despiseth
My great payne how litle shee regardeth
the holy oth, whereof shee taketh no cure
broken she hathe: and yet shee bideth sure
right at her ese: and litle she dredeth
Wepend thou art: and she unarmëd sitteth
Too thee disdaÿnfull: her lyf she ledeth
Too me spitefull: wᵗ owte cawse or mesure
Beholde Love.
I am in holde: if pitie thee moveth
goo bend thy bowe: that stony hert breketh
and with some stroke avenge the displeasure
of thee and him: that sorrow doeth endure
and as his Lorde thee lowely entreateth
Beholde Love.

E MS., f. 1ª. Signed "Tho."

For variants see Appendix C.

This rondeau is probably the first of Wyatt's translations, and attempt at a five-stressed line following the Italian example in the use of the hendecasyllable. It is placed first in his Autograph Volume (E MS.). It is the first of the large group of poems in the D MS. where the refrain is

repeated after the fifth, as well as the eighth and thirteenth lines. This rondeau has been corrected in the E MS. by another, later hand. There are about half-a-dozen instances in this MS. of corrections *not* Wyatt's, all in the same hand, probably G. F. Nott's.

For example: l. 7, "all" is interpolated before her, but Wyatt regards the word disdaÿnful as four syllables. (Cf. No. 2, where "ain" is syllabic; a sign is placed under it, thus:— *rayned*.) It will be observed that the use of the hendeca-syllable in the first part gives a slow, mournful effect to the complaint. The second part expresses an indignant command, the movement is consequently hurried, and deca-syllables are substituted.

2. SONET

The long love that, in my thought doeth harbor:
and in my hert doeth keep his residence:
intoo my face preaseth with bolde pretence:
and therein campeth spreding his banèr.
She that me lernes to love and súffèr,
and wills: that my trust and lustes negligence:
be rayned by reason: shame: and reverence
with his hardinesse takes displëasure.

Wherwith all into the herte forest he fleith.
levyng his entreprise with payne and cry:
and there him hideth: and not appereth
What may I doo: when my maister fereth?
but in the felde, with him to live and dy.
for goode is the lyffe, ending faithfully.

E MS., f. [a].

l. 5. First reading lerneth. See also l. 8. First reading taketh.

l. 6. A trisyllable in the second foot.

l. 7. rayned, the mark underneath denotes that it is regarded as one syllable; contrast "disdaÿnfull," No. 1.

Other examples: "his cruéll despite for to disgorge and quité;"

"disdaynful doublenes have I for my hire;"

"I have wailèd thus."

But (without the slurring sign)—

1. " by crúeltié and doúblenés (eight syllables).
2. "O crúel caúser of úndeserved chaunge."

In 2, cruel is two syllables, the sign under causer, denoting slurring, prevents the strong stress falling on the weak syllable " of."

Indications such as these are of inestimable value in deciding accentuation of doubtful lines, and shows that Wyatt's scheme was well thought out.

l. 14. Trisyllable for the second foot.

Note that the quatrains of the octave, and the tercets of the sestet are marked by Capitals.

3. SONET

You that in love finde lucke and habundance
and live in lust and Joyfull Jolitie,
arise for shame do away yo^{r} sluggardie !
arise I say do may some observaunce !
Let me in bed lye dreaming in mischaunce,
let me remembr the hap most unhappy
that me betide in May most comonly,
as oon whome love list litill to advaunce.
Sephanes saide true that my nativite
mischaunced was w^{t} the ruler of the may :
he gest, I prove of that the veritie.
in May my welth and eke my liff I say
have stond so oft in such p^{r}plexitie.
rejoyce : let me dreme of yo^{r} felicitie.

E MS., f. 64^{b}. Signed "TV."

This sonnet is a late one, probably written in Spain in 1538, and is original, with signs of Chaucerian influence in ll. 3–4. There is a marked difference in the fluency and style of the later sonnets ; Wyatt has broken away from the hendecasyllable which gives an awkward effect in English verse. This sonnet stands first for its felicity of expression and tuneful modulation of its vowel sounds.

l. 14. Note the characteristic trisyllable for the second foot. In this later sonnet the sestet is not divided into tercets.

4. Ottava Rima

Alas madame for stelyng of a kysse
have I so much yor mynd then offended ?
have I then done so grevously amisse
that by no meanes it may be amended ?
Then revenge you and the next way is this
an othr kysse shall have my lyff ended
for to my mowth the first my hert did suck
the next shall clene oute of my brest it pluck.

E MS., f. 31a. Signed "Tho."

Corrections in Wyatt's hand—

l. 1. "robbing" altered to "stelyng."
l. 5. First reading "revenge you then and sure you shall not misse."
l. 7. "first" altered from "ton."
l. 8. "the next shall clene" altered from "the tothr shall."

Corrections by a *later* hand than Wyatt's—

l. 2. "therin offended."
l. 4. "the matter may be mended."
l. 6. "My lyff through ended."

This epigram is included here to show how Wyatt's MS. was sometimes altered ; possibly by Harrington, but more probably by Nott. Where the correction is Wyatt's, the second reading is given in the text ; when the correction is *not* Wyatt's, it is given as a footnote.

The poem is an instance of a very popular conceit; Wyatt's version is a translation of Serafino's. Cf. Marot's rondeau, "En le baisant," 1529.

APPENDIX C

SPECIMEN PAGES FROM THE TABLE OF VARIANTS IN THE MSS. E, D, AND A, AND IN TOTTEL'S *MISCELLANY*

SPECIMENS OF VARIANTS OF THE POEMS IN THE *MSS. E AND D*, AND IN *TOTTEL*

Rondeaus.	E MS.	D MS.	Tottel.
Beholde love E MS. f. 1ᵃ D MS. f. 69ᵇ *Source.* Petrarch	1. 1. Beholde love . . [*looue* over-written]		
	2. My great payne how litle she regardeth	2. My grete greef	2. My grevous payne
	3. The holy oth	3. Thy holy oth After l. 5. Beholde love	3. The solemn oath
	6. Weponed thou art, and she unarmed sitteth	6. Thou hast weapon unarmid she sitteth	
	7. To the disdaynful all her lyff she ledeth	7. To the disdaynful her lyff she ledeth	
	8. To me spitefull withowte cawse or mesur	8. To me dispytefull . . .	8. To me spiteful without just cause or measure
	Behold love	Behold Love	9. *Behold love how proudly she triumpheth*
	10. Goo hend thy howe that stony herte breketh	10. . . . stony hartes breketh	
	11. And with some strok revenge the displeasur		12. . . . revenge the great displeasure
	Beholde love (After 13th line)	13. Behold love	(refrain omitted.)
Goo burnyng sighes E MS. f. 28 D MS. f. 61ᵇ *Source.* Petrarch	2. Goo breke the Ise whiche pites paynful dart	2. Goo breke the ice with piteus paynful dart	2. . . . which pities (T*a*) with pites (T*b*)
	3. Myght never perce and if mortal prayer	3. Might never perce	3. . . . and if that mortal prayer
	4. In hevyn may be herd at lest I desyre		4. . . . at lest yet I desyre
	5. That deth or mercy be end of my smart		5. That deth or mercy end my woful smart
	Refrain after v. 8. Goo burning sighes	Go burning sighes	9. Line inserted, *Go burning sighs fulfill that I desire*
	12. With piteful plaint . . .		13. With piteful complainte

SPECIMENS OF VARIANTS OF THE POEMS IN THE *MS. E AND D*, AND IN *TOTTEL*

Rondeaus.	E MS.	D MS.	Tottel.
Source. Petrarch (cont.)	13. That owte of my brest doeth strayn-ably stert		14. That from my brest disceivably doth start
	Goo burning sighes	Go burning sighes	(No refrain.)
	5. Rewarded is bothe fals and plaine		5. Rewarded is both crafty fals and plain
	6. Soonest he spedest that most can faine		6. Soonest he spedes that most can lye and fain
What vaileth troth	Refrain after v. 8. What vaileth troth?		9. What vaileth troth or *parfit stedfast-nesse*
E. MS. f. 1[a]	9. Deceived is he by crafty traine	Not in D.	10. Deceavd is he by false and crafty trayn
	10. That meaneth no guile and doeth remayn		11. That meanes no gyle and faithfull doth remayne
	11. Wthin the trapp withowt redresse		12. Within the trap without help or redresse
	12. But for to love lo such a maistres		13. But for to love (lo) such a sterne maistresse
	13. Whose crueltie nothing can refrayne		14. Where cruelty dwelles alas it were in vain
	What vaileth troth.		(No refrain.)
ffor to love her	1. 8. But reason will that I do cesse for to love her	8. But reason will that I do loose for to love her.	NOTE.—Tottel has turned these rondeaus into sonnets.
E MS. f. 23	1. Thou hast no faith of him that hath none	1. . . that *eke* hath none	Not in Tottel.
D MS. f. 75[a]			
Source. Marot			
Thou hast no faith	2. . . . nedes by reason	2. . . . nedes by *good* reson	
E MS. f. 27	3. for as saieth a proverbe notable	3. For us the proverbe saieth right notable	
D MS. f. 69[b]			
Source. Marot	4. Eche thing . . .	4. *Every* thing . . .	Not in Tottel.
	5. And thou hast thine of thy condition	5. And . . . thy *owne* condition	
	11. To fashion faith to wordes mutable	11. To fashion faith to wordes so dobable	

SPECIMENS OF VARIANTS OF THE POEMS IN THE *MSS. E AND D*, AND IN *TOTTEL*

Epigrams.	E MS.	D MS.	Tottel.
He is not ded E MS.f. 80. D MS.f. 74ᵃ *Source.* Serafino	1. He ie not dede [altered by Wyatt from "I am not dede"]	1. I am not dede	1. He is not dede
	2. The sonne retornable that was under a clowde	2. The sonne returnis that was	2. The sunn returns that hid was under clowd
	5. For I have sene a shipp into haven fall	5. . . . into *the* haven fall	5. . . . in haven fall
	6. After the storm hath broke both maste and shrowd	6. . . . mastes and shrowdes	6. After that storms . . .
	7. And eke the willow that stowpith		7. The willow eke that stoopeth
Nature that gave E MS.f. 89. D MS.f. 71ᵇ	1. 2. To *fynd* honey [altered by Wyatt from "to get hony"]	2. To get howny	
Venemous thorns E MS.f. 100. D MS.f. 72ᵇ *Source.* Serafino	1. 1. Venemous thorns		1. Venemous thorns (Ta). Venemous thrones
	2. Sometyne ber flowers fayre and fresh of hue		2. Bear flowers we see both fayre . . .
	4. And cawseth helth in man for to remove	4. And to his helth doeth make the man renue	4. And unto man his helth doth oft renue
	5. Fyre that purgeth all things yᵗ is unclene	5. Fyre that all thing consumeth clene	5. The fyre that all things eke consumeth clene
	6. May hele and hurt and if this bene true		6. May hurt and hele; then if that this be true
Desire alas my master and my foo. E MS.f. 50ᵃ. D MS.f. 73ᵃ *Source.* Petrarch	1. Desire alas my maister and my foo	1. Cruell desir my master and my foo	
	2. So sone alterd thyself how mayst thow se	2. Thyself so chaunged for shame how mayst thow se	
	3. Sometyme thou I sought yt dryves me to and fro	3. That I have sought doeth chase me to and fro	3. Sometyme thou sekest that drives me to and fro
	4. Sometyme thou ledst yt ledeth the and me	4. Whom thou didst rule now ruleth she and me	
	5. What reason is to rewle thy subjectes so	5. What right is to rule thy subjects so	
	6. By forcèd law and mutahility	6. And to be held by mutability	
	7. For wheu by the I doubted to have blame	7. Lo whereby the I douhted to have blame	
	8. Evyn now by hate agayne I dowt the same	8. Even now by dred againe I doubt the same	
Sonnet. fynde no peace E MS.f. 20ᵇ. D MS.f. 82ᵃ *Source.* Petrarch.	3. I flye above the winde yet can I not aryse	3. I flye aboute the heaven	3. I fly aloft yet can I not arise
	9. Without Iyen I se		9. Without eye I see

SPECIMENS OF VARIANTS OF THE POEMS IN THE *MSS. E AND D*, AND IN *TOTTEL*

Epigrams.	E MS.	D MS.	Tottel.
Source. Petrarch (cont.)	10. I desire to perish and yet I aske helth		10. . . . and yet I ask *for* helth
	13. Likewise displeaseth me both *lyff and deth*	13. Likewise displeseth me both *deth and lyffe*	
	14. And my delite is canser of this stryff	14. And my delite is cause . . .	
		[Stanzas i. and ii. absent from D.]	
Six-line Stanza (decasyllabic)			
Alas the greffe	st. iii. 4. Perdye you know the thing was not so straunge	st. iii. 4. Perdye *I* know	
E MS.f. 2b. D MS.f. 2b	7. What needeth then such coloured doblenesse	7. . . . such coler and doblenesse	Not in Tottel
	st. v. 6. I wit the safe of that that I had lost	st. v. 6. I quite the enterprise of that that I have lost	
	7. To whom so ever lust for to proffer moost	7. To whom so ever list for to proffer moost	

SPECIMENS OF VARIANTS OF THE POEMS IN THE *MSS. E, D, A,* AND IN *TOTTEL.*

Satires.	E MS.	D MS.	A MS.	Tottel.
My Mothers Maydes E f. 50*b*; D f. 87*b*	1. My mothers maydes when they did sowe and spyn	1. My mothers maydes . . . sowe *or* spyn		1. My mothers maids . . . . do sowe and spin
	2. They sang sometyme a song of the field mowse		2. They sang a song made of the feldishe mowse	2. They sing a song made of the *seldishe* (T*a*) feldishe (T*b*)
	3. That forbicawse her lyvehood . . .	3. . . . . lyvehood		3. . . . her livehod . . .
	4. Would nedes go seke . . .		4. Would nedes go se	4. Would nedes go se
Source. Horace	5. She thought herself endured to much pain		5. . . . endured to *grevous* payne	5. . . . endured to *grevous* payne
	17. Slepe if she might	ll. 1–18 only in D MS.	17. . . . if she colde	
	55. Was nevsr mowse so ferd for tho			55. Was never mouse so ferde for the unwise
	59. The towney mowse fled . . .			59. The towne mouse fled
	63. Thevyn it would lo . . .		63. The heaven it would lo . . .	63. The heaven it would lo
	68. That had forgotten her power		68. That had forgot	
	73. And blynde the gyde anon owte of the way.		73. And blindee the gyd	73. And blindes the guide
	78. Sergaunt with mace hawbert sword nor knyff		78. Sergeant with mace with hawbert sword or knyf	78. Sergeant with mace with hawbert sword nor knife.
	87. To seke grapes upon brambles or breers		87. To seke for grapes	87. To seke for grapes on blambles or on briars
	88. Nor none I trow that hath his will so bad		88. Nor none I trow that hath a*witt* so had	88. For none I trowe that hath his witte so bad
	90. Nor ye se not a drag net for a hare		90. Ne ye set not . . .	90. Nor ye set not . . .
	92. Ye do misseke . . .		92. Ye do mislike	92. You do misseke
	100. For thou shalt fele it sitting in thy mynde		100. . . . sticking in thy mynde	100. . . . sticking in thy mind
	106. But to the great God and to his high Dome		106. . . . and to his dome	106. . . . and to his dome

	E MS.	A MS.	1547 Ed. (from Park's copy of the Percy & Stevens' Ed. 1807).
A variants, consisting of slight differences: (i) verbal endings; (ii) omission or insertion of a syllable; (iii) change in words without change of meaning	Ps. li. 54. With spryte upright voydid from fylth and lust Prol. Ps. xxxviii. iii. 2. That sonne the wich was never clowd cowd hide iv. 7. His hand, his tnne, his mind sought his lay	Ps. li. 54. With spryte upryght *void from all* . . . Prol. Ps. xxxviii. iii. 2. That sun the which *ther was* never clowd cd. hide iv. 7. His hand, his tnne, his mind *eke* sowght his lay	The readings of the 1547 edition occur in the 1807 edition among the variants as "P.C." (printed copy). These follow the readings of the E MS., with two exceptions, noted below
B variants, consisting of change from *archaic expression* in E	Prol. Ps. vi. l. 8. With crepyng fyer *sparplid* for the nones Ps. vi. l. 103. Wher the deceyte of yowre *glosing* baite Prol. Ps. xxxviii. iii. 5. And such *luyster* upon the harpe extendes Prol. Ps. li. *ii.* 1. On *sonour* cordes . . . [= sonorous chords]	l. 8. With creping fyre *sparklid* . . . l. 103. Wher the deceit of your *glauncing* baite iii. 5. And such glister upon . . . *ii.* 1. On *sower* ords . . . [error in A ?]	
C variants, consisting of change in the meaning of the passage	Pr. Ps. li. ii. 5. As he that bledes in baigne right so intendes Ps. xxxviii. l. 42. Mine owne { virtnes (1) / acquaintance (2) } sonest they did faile Ps. li. l. 43. And as the Juyz do hele the liepre sore, wt hyssop clense, clense me . . . Prol. Ps. cxxx. iv. 1. With this he doeth diffend the slye assault 2. Of vayne alowance of his voyde deserte	Pr. Ps. li. ii. 5. As he that bleeds in vein right so . . Ps. xxxviii. l. Mine owne vertues. Ps. li. l. 43. And as the Jews . . . Prol. Ps. cxxx. iv 1. With this . . 2. Of veyne alowance of his worde desert;	follows E Ps. li. l. 43. And as the *juice* to clense the leper sore (emendation of *Stevens* in 1807 edition). Prol. Ps. cxxx iv. 1. With this he doeth diffend . . . 2. Of vain allowance of his *own* desert (emendation by Stevens)

THE PENITENTIAL PSALMS—continued.

C variants (continued).

E MS.	A. MS.	1547 Ed. (from Park's copy of the Percy & Stevens' Ed. 1807.)
Ps. cii.	Ps. cii.	Ps. cii.
l. 67. In this Sion this holy name to stand		
68. And in Hiernsalem his laudes lasting ay		
69. When in one chirch the peple of the land		
70. And remas hen gadered to srve to laud to pray		
71. The Lord alone so just so merciful		
72. but to this samble runȳg in the way	72. but to this *sample rouning* in the way	72. But to this *samble*[1] *runninge* in the way
73. My strength faylith . . .		
Ps. cxliii.	Ps. clxiii.	Ps. cxliii.
l. 12. By skourge and whipp and *prykyng spurr* I have	l. 12. By skourge and whipp and *prykyng soures* I have	l. 12. By skourge and whipp and *prykyng spurr*
13. Skante risen up such is my bestlinesse		
14. For that enemy hath pursuȳd my lyff		
15. And in the dust hath spoyled my lustines		
16. For that *in heins to fle his* rage so ryff	l. 16. *In foreign realms* to fle his rage so ryff	l. 16. *To foreign realms* to fle his rage so ryff
17. he hath me forst as ded to hyd my hed	17. he hath me forste . . .	l. 17. he hath me forst . . .
Ps. cxxx.	Ps. cxxx.	Ps. cxxx.
l. 1. From depth of sin and from a diepe dispayre	l. 1. From depth . . . dispayre	l. 1. From depth . . . dispayre
2. From depth of deth from depth of herte sorow	2. From depth . . . sorow	2. From depth . . . sorow
3. From the diepe cave of darknes diepe *repaire*	3. From the . . . *dispayre*	3. From the diepe cave . . . *repayre*

[1] samble = assembly.

APPENDIX D.

POEMS IN THE EGERTON MS.

Showing Chronological Order

First Lines.	f.	Structure.	E	D	A	P	Harl.	Pr.	T	Source.	Approx. dates.
Beholde love thy powre how she despiseth	1	Rondeau	√	√	—	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. "Or vedi Amor." Madrigale	1527–28
What vaileth troth or hy it to take payne	1	Rondeau	√	—	—	—	—	—	√		,,
Cesar when that the traitor of Egypt	2	Sonnet	√	√	—	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. "Cesare poi che'l traditor." Sonnet	,,
The long love that in thy thought doeth harber	3	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. "Amor che nel pensier." Sonnet	,,
Alas the greffe and dedly woful smert	4	6-line st.: aabahb	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		1528–32
Whoso list to hount I know wher is an hynde	8	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Petrarch. Una cerva candida. Sonnet	
O restful place renewer of my smert	8	Sonnet "ll. 1–8	√	√	—	—	—	—	√	Petrarch (adapted)	,,
Myne olde dere enmy my frowerd maister	9	Troilus st.	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Quel antiquo mio dolce. Sonnet	,,
Was I never yet of your love grevèd	17	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Io non fu d'amor. Sonnet	
Eche man metelleth I chaunge moost my devis	18	Sonnet	√	√	√	—	—	—	√		,,
Farewell the rayne of cruèltie	19	Octos. Quatrains	√	—	—	—	—	—	√		,,
If amours faith an hert unfayned .	20	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. S'una fede amorosa. Sonnet	,,
ffarewell Love and all thy laws for ever	21	Sonnet	√	√	√	—	—	—	√		,,
My hert I gave the not to do it payne	22	Sonnet	√	√	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Il cor ti diedi. Sonnet	,,
ffor to love her for her lokes lovely .	23	Rondeau	√	√	—	—	—	—	√	Clement Marot. D'estre amourenx. Rondeau	,,
Ther was never file half so well filed	24	Sonnet	√	√	√	—	—	—	√		,,
Help me to seke for I lost it ther .	25	Rondeau	√	—	—	—	—	—	—		,,
If it be so that I forsake the . .	26	Rondeau	√	—	—	—	—	—	—	Clement Marot. "S'il est ainsy." Rondeau	,,
Thou hast no faith of him that hath none	27	Rondeau	√	√	—	—	—	—	—	Cf. Clement Marot. "Amor et foi." Rondeau	
Goo burning sighes into the frosen hert	28	Rondeau	√	√	—	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. "Ite calde sospiri." Sonnet	,,
It may be good like it who list	29	Octos. 7-line st.	√	√	—	—	—	—	√		,,

POEMS IN THE EGERTON MS.

First Lines.	f.	Structure.	E	D	A	P	Harl.	Pr.	T	Source.	Approx. dates.
Resownd my voyce ye wodes that here me playne	30	Troilus st.	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	Serafino. "L'aer che senti." Strambotto	1528–32
In faith I wot not well what to say .	31	Octos. 7-line st.	√	—	—	—	—	—	√		
Som fowles ther be that have so perfaict sight	32	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. "Son animali." Sonnet	,,
Bicawse I have the still kept from lyes and hlame	34	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Perch'io t'abbia guerdato. Sonnet	
I fynde no peace and all my war is done	34	Sonnet	√	√	—	√	—	—	√	Petrarch. Pace non trovo	,
Tho I myself be bridilled of my mynde	35	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	—		,
My galy charged with forgetfulnes	36	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. "Passe la nave." Sonnet	,,
Avysing the bright bemes of these fayer Iyes	37	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Mirando'l sol. Sonnet	,,
Ever myn hap is slack and slo in comyng	38	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Mia ventura al venir. Sonnet	,
Love and fortune and my mynde remembr	39	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Amor fortuna e la mia. Sonnet	,,
How oft have I my dere and cruel fo	40	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Mille fiate o dolce mia. Sonnet	,
Like to these unmesurable montaynes	41	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Sannazaro. Simile a questi. Sonnet	1531–33
Madam withowten many wordes (with "Aunswer")	42	Douzaine	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	Mellin de St. Gelais. S'Amor vous a donné Douzaine	*1533–36*
Ye olde mule that thinck yourself so faire	43	Rondeau	√	—	—	—	—	—	—		,,
Such happe as I am bapped in . .	44	Octos. 6-line st.	√	—	—	—	—	—	—		,,
They fle from me that somstyme did me seks	46	Troilus st.	√	√	—	—	—	—	√		,,
Ther was never nothing more me payned	47	Quatrain and tail rime	√	—	—	—	—	—	√		
Patience tho I have not . .	49	6-line st.	√	√	√	—	—	—	—	Serafino. Adapted	,
Patience for my device . . .	50	6-line st.	√	√	√	—	—	—	—	Serafino. Adapted	
Who hath herd of such crueltie before	52	Ottava rima	√	√	√	—	—	—	√	Skelton. Idea to be traced in "Philip Sparow"	

First Lines.	f.	Structure.	E	D	A	P	Harl.	Pr.	T	Source.	Approx. dates.
If fansy would favor	53	Quatrain	√	√	√	—	—	—	—		Early poem (?)
Alas madam for stelyng of a kysse .	55	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Serafino. In culpa donna. Strambotto (cf. Marot "en la baisant")	1533-36
What no perdye ye may be sure .	56	Rondeau octos.	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		1526-27
The wandering gadling in the somer tyde	57	Ottava rima	√	√	—	√	—	—	√	Ariosto. O. F. Timida pastorella	1533-36
The lyvely sparkes that issue from those Iyes	58	Sonnet	√	√	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Vive faville usciam. Sonnet	,,
What nedeth these threning wordes and wasted wynde	59	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Serafino. A che minacci: a che tanta ira. Strambotto	
Right true it is and said ful yore agoo	59	7-line st. ababbbb	√	—	√	—	—	—	√		,,
What word is that that chaungeth not	60	7-line st. octos.	√	—	√	—	—	—	√		,,
At moost myscheffe	72	4-syll. st.	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		,,
Marvaill no more altho	73	6-syll. st.	√	√	—	—	—	—	√		,,
When shall I have at myn own will .	74	Octos. quatrains	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Giusti di Conti. Chi dara egli	,,
She sat and sowde that hath done me the wrong	75	Ottava rima	√	√	√	—	—	—	√	Skelton. Idea in "Philip Sparow"	,,
A Robyn joly robyn	76	Quatrains	√	√	—	—	—	—	—	Song derived from popular refrain	Early poem
Suche vayne thought as wonted to mislede me	77	Sonnet	√	√	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Pieu d'un vago pensier. Sonnet	1533-36
Tho I cannot yowre crueltie constrayne	78	5-line st.	√	√	√	—	—	—	—		,,
To wisshe and wante and not obtayne	78	Quatrains 8886	√	√	√	—	—	—	—		,,
Sometyme I fled the fyre that me brent	79	Ottava rima	√	√	√	—	—	—	√		1532?
He is not ded that sometyme had a fall	80	Ottava rima	√	√	—	√	—	—	√	Serafino. S'io son caduto. Strambotto	*1533-36*
The furions gonne in his raging ire .	81	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Serafino. Si una bombardo. Strambotto	,,
My hope alas hath me abused . .	82	7-line st. octos.	√	√	√	—	—	—	—		,,
What deth is wourse than this . .	83	6-line st. 646446	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		,,
Thenmy of lyff decayer of mankynde	84	Ottava rima	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	Mellin de St. Gelais (adapted). Pres d'un cercueil	
Ons as methought fortune me kyssed	85	Quatrains .	√	√	—	—	—	—	√		
My lute awake perfourm the last	86	5-line st. octos. .	√	√	—	—	—	—	√		
If chaunce assynd	87	4-syll. line stanza	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		,,
Nature that gave the bee so sete a grace	89	Ottava rima	√	√	—	—	√	—	√		,,

POEMS IN THE EGERTON MS.

First Lines.	f.	Structure.	E	D	A	P	Harl.	Pr.	T	Source.	Approx. dates.
I have sowght long with stedfastnesse	90	Quatrains	√	√	—	—	—	-	—		*1533-36*
Lyke as the swanne towerds her deth	91	Quatrains	√	√	—	—	—	—	—	Serafino (adapted). Barzaletta ii, last strophe	
In aeternum I was ons determined	92	monorhymed triplets and tail rhyme	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		
Syns ye delite to know . . .	93	st. 6644668	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		
Hevyn and erth and all that here me playne	95	Quatrains	√	√	—	—	—	—	—	Petrarch (adapted). Sestina iii in Vita, and Sonnet xlviii in Morte	
Comfort thyself my wofull hert .	96	Quatrains	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		,,
Myne owne John Poynz sins ye delite to know	97	Terza rima	√	√	√	√	—		√	Luigi Alamanni. Thommaso mio gentil. Satire x	*1536-37*
Desyre alas my maister and my foo.	99	Ottava rima	√	√	—	—	—	—	√	Petrarch (adapted). Sonnet xlvii in Vita ll. 5-8 "largui'l desio"	
Venemous thorns that ar so sharp and kene	100	Ottava rima	√	√	—	√	√	—	√	Serafino. Ogni pungente e venenosa. Strambotto	
My mothers maydes when they did sowe and spyn	101	Terza rima	√	ll. 1-18	—	—	—	—	√	Horace. ii Satires 6	
To cause accord or to aggre .	105	monorhymed quatrains and refrain	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		
Though this [the] port and I thy servaunt true	106	Troilus st.	√	—	—	—	—	—	—	French refrain "en voyant la galère"	1537
Unstable dreme according to the place	107	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Filosceno. Pareavi in questa nocte. Sonnet	
In dowtful brest whilst moderly pitie	108	Ottava rima	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	Josephus. History of the Jews	*1537-39*
Off Cartage he that worthie warrior.	108	Ottava rima	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Vinsi Hanibal. Sonnet	,,
Processe of tyme worketh great wonder	109	Quatrains	√	—	√	—	—	—	—		,,
After great storms the cawme retornes	110	Quatrains	√	—	√	—	—	—	—		
A spendyng hand that alwaye powreth owte	111	Terza rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Horace. ii Satires 5; concluding lines Perseus Sat. iii.	,
All hevy myndes . .	116	4-line st. 4664	√	—	—	—	—	—	—	Petrarch adapted	,,

POEMS IN THE EGERTON MS.

First Lines.	f.	Structure.	E	D	A	P	Harl.	Pr.	T	Source.	Approx. dates.
To seke eche where where man doeth lyve	117	6-line st. 8 8 8 8 10 10	√	—	—	—	—	—	—	Clement Marot. Etrenne. "Ce nouvel an"	*1537–39*
O goodely hand	118	6-line st. 446446	√	—	—	—	√	—	—	Petrarch (adapted). O bella mane. Cf. also Giusti di Conti "La Bella Mane"	
Lo what it is to love . . .	119	stanza 66446446	√	—	—	—	—	—	—		,,
Leve thus to slaunder love . .	120	,, ,,	√	—	—	—	—	—	—		,,
Who most doeth slaunder love .	122	,, ,,	√		—	—	—	—	—		,,
I lede a lyff unpleasaunt nothing glad	123	Ottava rima	√	—	—	—	—	—	—		(written in Spain)
If in the world ther be more wo .	124	Treizaine	√	√	—	—	—	—	—		,,
Thanswer that you made to me my dere	125	5-line st.	√	—	—	—	—	—	√		,,
Most wretched hert most miserable	126	Quatrains	√	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chaucer. Playnte to Fortune	,,
You that in love fynde luck and abondaunce	127	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√		,,
And if an Iye may save or sleye .	129	7-line st. octos.	√	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Altho thow se thowtragious clyme aloft	130	Terza rima	ll. 1-35	—	√	—	—	—	—	Paraphrase to Psalm xxxvii.	,
From these hye hills as when a spring doeth fall	131	Ottava rima	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	Ariosto. Forza è al fin. Capitoli Amorosi	,
If waker care if sodayne pale color	132	Sonnet	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. First six lines of S'una fede amorosa. Sonnet	,
So feble is the threde that doeth the burden stay	133	Poulter's measure	√	—	√	—	—	—	√	Petrarch. Si e debile il filo a cui s'attene. Canzone	,
Tagus farewell that westward with thy stremes	137	Ottava rima	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	Boethius. Metrum 10. For first two lines (Tagus . . tryde)	In Spain 1539
Of purpos love chose first for to be blynde	138	Ottava rima	√	—	—	—	—	—	√		In England 1539?
What rage is this? What furor of what kynde?	139	4-line st. 10 10 10 6	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	Cf.	
Vulcan begat me Minerva me taught	140	Ottava rima	√	—	—	—	√	—	√	Pandulpho	

POEMS IN THE EGERTON MS

First Lines.	f.	Structure.	E	D	A	P	Harl.	Pr.	T	Source.	Approx. dates.
Psalms.											
Introd. Love to gyve law unto his subjectes hertes	172	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Standosi Amore a dar legge a Is persone. Introd.	July 1540–Jan. 1541
Ps. v. O Lord sines in my mowth thy myghty name	174	Terza rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Signore poi che il tuo nome. Ps. v.	,,
Introd. Whoso hath sene the sikk in his favor	175	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Chi mai ha visto uno infermo. Introd.	,
Ps. xxxii. Oh happy ar they that have forgyfness got	178	Terza rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. O beati coloro le cui iniquita. Ps. xxxii.	,
Introd. This song endid David did stint his voyce	179	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Tacquesi David tosto ch'egli. Introd.	,,
Ps. xxxviii. O Lord as I the have hoth prayd and pray	182	Terza rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Deh signore si come io ho pregato. Ps. xxxviii.	
Introd. Like as the pilgrim that in a long way	184	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Parve un peregrino. Introd.	,
Ps. li. Rew on me Lord for thy goodeness and grace	186	Terza rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Habbi misericordia di me Iddio. Ps. li.	,
Introd. The diepe secrets that David here did syng	188	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	-	—	Pietro Aretino. Poscia che David hebbe. Introd.	,
Ps. cii. Lord here my prayer and let my crye pssse	189	Terza rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Esandisci Signore la mia oratione. Ps. cii.	,
Introd. When David had perceyvid in his brest	192	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Cantato ei hebbe David. Introd.	,
Ps. cxxx. From depth of sin and from a diepe dispayre	193	Terza rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Dai profundi io ho esclamato. Ps. cxxx.	,,
Introd. This word redeeme yt in his mowthe did sowude	194	Ottava rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Introd.	,
Ps. cxliii. Here my prayer O Lord here my request	195	Terza rima	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	Pietro Aretino. Signore esandisci la mia oratione. Ps. cxliii.	,
When Dido festid first (unfinished)	200	Poulter's measurs	√	—	√	—	—	—	—		April 1541–1542

GLOSSARY

Ambes-as. The double ace in dice, regarded as the unlucky throw; five was the lucky number. See "Zins."

> "Your bagges ben nat filled with *amber-as*
> But with *sis cink* then renneth for your chaunce."
> Chaucer B. 24.

ascart. A variant of astert, to start up, to escape; √ aet-sterten; "ascart" appears to be peculiar to Wyatt. For interchange of guttural c and t, see "toward" and "daskard" for coward and dastard.

ataced. Not found except in Wyatt. See "taced."

avysing. Gazing intently at. √ Italian, avissare. Found in Chaucer. See also dispatch to King Henry VIII, "I avysed him."

*chave.** This spelling seems peculiar to Wyatt = chaff, hence provender, and used in the sense of livelihood.

> "Of him who hath no chave, and nowhere doeth dwell."

"Chaif," "caf," "chaff," found in Chaucer.

*cant.** Kentish word for (1) a corner of a field; (2) a portion. √ Latin, *quantum.*

daskard. Peculiar spelling for "dastard." A cowardly person. √ Icel. *dasaðr* = exhausted + Romance suffix -ard.

elonged. Distant from. √ Latin, *elongare.*

for-done. Utterly destroyed; "for-" is an intensitive prefix.

groins. Grunts; √ O.F. *grognér* = to grunt or grumble.

gruging. M.E. gricchen, with various meanings: (1) to murmur; (2) feel compunction; (3) feel pangs of hunger; (4) prophetic intuition. Found in Wyatt in the sense of remorse—

> "A gruging of the worm within." (Ps. cxxxviii. 27.)

*heins.** Peculiar to Wyatt. Dialectal word found in the North, especially Yorkshire, as *hains* √ Icel. haegur, a hedge; used in the sense of surrounding a field with a hedge for the growth of grass, and called *haining.* It can be used figuratively as a "refuge"—it has this force in Wyatt; the "e" spelling is no doubt due to Wyatt's preference for "e" rather than "a."

> "for that in heins to fle his wrath so ryff
> he hath me forced as ded to hyd my hed."

*heins.** The reading with "heins" was corrected in Haringtón's edition of the Psalms, because the word was unknown in the south, and the corrected line has appeared in every edition of Wyatt. Wyatt's text is here restored, *The first reading* in the E MS. makes the meaning, "heins" as refuge, even more clear—

> "for that in heins as man in mortal stryff
> he hath constraynd me for to hyd my hed."

The second reading E MS. is—

> "For that in heins to fle his wrath so ryff
> he hath me forced as ded to hyd my hed."
>
> (Correction by Wyatt.)

*kappur.** Peculiar to Wyatt; it is traced to a dialectal word (Yorkshire and northern counties), as a term applied to a young colt; it has a secondary meaning, "wanton" in the form "kipper," √ Danish kippe, a low ale-house (W. D. D.). It is used satirically by Wyatt—

> "Savoureth somewhat of a kappur's stable,"

in the sense of a wanton, wild, or unrestrained person.

koward. The spelling in the E MS. appears "Toward."

> "And if thou spake Toward" (koward ?)

Changed in printed editions to *a word.* O.F. coward, √ cauda + German suffix -ard. Wyatt's preference for "k" rather than "c" spelling cannot be set down to northern influence. It is found frequently in the south. Cf. Lekebusch.

nappy. Foaming, having a head, applied to ale. Cf. Skelton—

> "Ale . . . so nappy for the nonce."

quakyud. Archaic form of pres. participle term., -inde, -ende. True pres. participle forms were replaced by the verbal noun ending -unge, > ing.

rabate. Abate, diminish (Nares Glossary). Cf. Puttenham, "and this alteration . . . sometimes by rabbating a syllable or line."

shright. Shriek, used as a noun by Wyatt. Only found elsewhere as a preterite or past participle. Cf. Chaucer—

> "Shrighte Emelye and howleth Palamon." (Kt.T. A. 2817.)

√ Sc. skrika (still preserved in Yorkshire dialect as skrike), M.E. schrichen.

staulk. To go warily or noiselessly; probably connected with A.S. stealc.

sitteth. Impersonal verb, it is becoming, or "fits." "It sitteth me to nere," *i. e.* it fits me too closely.

taced. Borrowed by Wyatt from Italian taceto "silenced," "quieted," "stilled."

"And where I had my thought and mynd *at*taced
From al erthely frailnes and vayne pleasur,"

traced. Borrowed by Wyatt from Italian *at*trassi, "attracted."

"With the amorous dance have made me traced."

Translated from "La qual m' attrasse all' amorosa schiera."

It is curious that we find *a*taced for the translation of tacito, and traced instead of *a*traced for the translation of *at*trasse. The addition of the prefix "a" to the second word instead of the first, prevents double slurring. It occurs in Wyatt's most faulty poem, and, whichever way it is read, refuses to become regular.

The form as it is found is certainly preferable to

"With the amorous dance have made me a traced
And when I had my thought and mynde taced."

to-torn. Torn in shreds, with intensitive prefix "to."

zins. zin, √cing, the name for five in a throw of dice. Two fives, or a five and a six, was the lucky number. See "Ambes-as."

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